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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Effects of the Interview at Erfurth.—State of the Public Mind.—Cobbet's Encomiums on the English Minister, and on the happy effects of their Orders in Council.—The Power of public Opinion evinced by Buonaparté's Exertion to secure it.—An official Retrospect.

WE have now arrived at a period of our Hero's history, when he seemed to be no longer regarded by mankind, great as we have seen him, as the mere Ruler over the destinies of the most powerful nation of the world; but as having attained a degree of power that elevated him into all but, the Arbiter of the World at large! We have already witnessed the imposing effect of that magnificient impudence, so grand, and so peculiarly his own, which could bring one of the greatest sovereigns of Europe, from the extreme ends of the earth; to perform the part of his humble lackey among the mummeries of Erfurth—to sanction by his presence the usurpations and spoilations in Spain and Portugal. The Emperor Alexander outran the kings of Prussia in the race of degra-

dation; for the French only reproach them with having been "first *to abandon* the other states of Europe," and with acting a principal part at those civic fetes where "the destruction of Kings" was *resolved upon*;* but the Emperor of Russia went *out of his way* to make an overture to the King of England for the sake of designating the Spanish patriots by the opprobrious appellation of Insurgents, in order to declare openly that he was an active participator in that very destruction: and that his obsequiousness might render him as agreeable as the most humble of slaves, he carried on a sanguinary and unrelenting war in the dominions of his friend the King of Sweden; because that monarch was a man of honour, and refused to countenance the crimes and usurpations of the Tyrant.

Such was the debased state of the public mind at the close of 1808, when Napoleon was on his journey to Madrid, that the greatest portion of the human race, within the range of his influence, were willing to submit to all the violence of his ambition, and to all the freaks of his caprice, under a persuasion that his *fiat* was sufficient to command success—his presence alone necessary to command events. The government of Great Britain and the patriots of the Peninsula, by their joint operations, formed the only barrier to universal conquest,—possessed the only stock of firmness and intrepedity from whence a ray of hope could be drawn favourable to the independence of the world.

Of the advantages of public opinion Buonaparté has been always truly sensible, and therefore, though he has always treated it with the utmost contempt, and stifled it wherever his authority extended, he has never suffered his crimes to go

* See Vol. VI. page 331.

abroad as crimes, but he has so far accommodated himself to vulgar prejudice as to varnish them over with apologies of some sort, and to send them out under new names; as Spain was invaded and the Royal Family trepanned under the title of "Abdication." It was with a view to take the benefit of the belief in his invincibility, that he determined upon the journey to Madrid,

> ——— from thence to o'er top Cesar
> With his *veni vidi vici*.

We should here suspend the narrative of our adventurer's operations in Spain, for the purpose of examining his affairs in some of the other states of Europe, as we promised at the close of our preceding Volume; but for the necessity we feel of showing that the trifling resistance which had already been made to him, had rendered his task more difficult than he imagined. This was so well expressed by a writer, who at that time, both in Europe and America, had great influence in marshalling forces either for or against Napo'eon, as far as the power of opinion went, that we shall say, in his own words,

"The merit of the English ministers in sending out the expedition to the Peninsula, in their plan of operations, in their choice of a commander, and in every part of the enterprize, no man of a just mind will, whatever be his sentiments in other respects, attempt to deny. They would, if the thing had failed, have been loaded with no small share of the blame; it would, therefore, be the height of injustice to withhold from them their share of the praise. Indeed, it cannot be denied, that almost the whole of their measures, with respect to foreign countries, have been strongly marked with foresight, promptitude, and vigor. Their Orders in Council, against which Mr. Whit-

bread, Mr. Roscoe, and the Barings, so bitterly inveighed, have been one cause, and not a trifling one, of the events in Spain and Portugal, into which countries we could not have entered had not *the people* been with us, and that the people were with us, arose, in great part, from those despair-creating effects, which were produced by the Orders in Council, which orders they could not fail to ascribe to Napoleon, nor could they fail to perceive that, while he possessed their country, there was not the smallest chance of their being relived from those effects. How false, then, have events proved to be the reasoning of Lord Grenville and Mr. Roscoe and Mr. Baring, that the Orders in Council would make us detested by all the suffering nations, and would tend to strengthen the power of Napoleon over them! I could easily refer to the passage, wherein I contended, that the Orders in Council would naturally have the effect of shaking the authority of Napoleon in the conquered, or dependant states, by producing unbearable distress. I, indeed, wished for a still greater stretch of maritime power. I wished an interdict to be issued against all those not in alliance with us. I wished the whole world to be told: "As long as you suffer France to command all the land, England will command all the sea, and from that sea, she will permit none of you to derive any, even the smallest advantage, or comfort." But, without this, the ministers really have done what they said they would do; they have brought things to *a crisis;* they have got rid of that benumbing, death-like lingering, which had been the characteristic of our warfare for so many years; and, if they follow up their blows, it is not impossible, that, after all the senseless admiration which has been bestowed upon speech-making ministers, we may see the conqueror of Europe,

the king and queen maker, toppled from his stool by the Duke of Portland.—Now is the time to recall the public attention to the doctrines of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Roscoe. I should now like to see, from the pen of the latter in particular, an essay on *the wisdom of making peace in* 1806, and another upon *the moderation of Napoleon*, both of which were the subjects of his dull pamphlet. I should like now to see him attempting to convince the manufacturers, that they would have gained by a peace made in 1806, and that they would have enjoyed their gains in peace and safety. His doctrines, luckily for the nation, did not prevail. The common sense of the people taught them that his doctrines were false. He could not make them see any prospect of real peace; and, though the conqueror was still borne upon the wings of victory; though a refusal to submit to his terms was followed by a still greater extension of his power and of our danger, yet the nation said, "go on he must if he will, for, until the state of Europe be changed, England cannot enjoy a moment's real peace." By the measures of the present ministers, the great question, which every one was afraid to moot, was at once clearly put: can England exist independent, and in defiance, of all the civilized world, or can she not? This question, the most interesting that ever was started, has now been decided, and for this decision, so glorious to us and to our country for ever, we have to thank the men who are at present in power*."

The Emperor saw that in order to maintain the sovereign sway he had acquired over the minds of men, it was necessary to make out a very strong case, both in respect to the political motives that might give a justifying colour to the invasion of

* Cobbet's Register, September 10, 1808.

the Peninsula, and to the insufficiency of the means that could be brought to resist him; previously therefore to his setting off for Spain, great pains were taken to give currency to a detailed representation of the state of things; which should exaggerate his own resources and diminish those of his opponents—which should make out the patriots to be a mere handful of factious rebels, by shewing that the great majority, and all the better sort of people, were in his favour—and which should, in a word, falsify all the accounts that had been previously written by his adversaries. It stated officially, that

"There were in Spain a very considerable number of enlightened individuals who thought freely, and were anxious to see their country governed by a constitution which should guarantee the rights of the nation.

"That kingdom, it continued, also contains a number of persons, whose wishes accorded with the different scenes of the French Revolution.

"The third part of the territory is in the possession of the secular clergy. The monks, almost all ignorant, but superstitious, exercised the most powerful influence over the lower orders of the people, who are in a state of much greater ignorance in Spain than in any country; and who, under such a government, have during a century made progress only in superstition and idleness.

"The events which occurred at the Escurial and at Aranjuez, made a great inroad upon the respect due to the throne; the convocation of a Junta at Bayonne to deliberate upon the fundamental principles of a constitution; the extraordinary and unforseen events of the 2d of May, at Madrid—all these circumstances contributed to set the passions in motion, and to carry hope and fear respectively to the highest excess.

" The English faction could not fail to convert this situation of affairs to their own advantage. This faction had been all along very active and very powerful in the sea-ports, and its influence was continually felt in Madrid. It had by the general circumstances of the continent acquired greater influence, as well as by the sacrifices which the state of the Spanish commerce demanded. Every artifice was thus resorted to, to excite a general disposition to throw off the alliance with France and to form a connection with England; and this secret inclination had a very considerable influence upon the events at Aranjuez, and those which follow them.

" The greater part of the respectable and enlightened inhabitants, consisting of the nobility and higher clergy, were animated by a better disposition and ideas; but the party of the Inquisition and the monks, urged on by the numerous agents which England maintained in Spain, availed themselves of the ignorance and blindness of the people to lead them astray by false reports, and to place arms in the hands of the lower and poorer classes; and by the end of May, the insurrection broke out, at the very instant when all the arrangements respecting Spain were completed, when the Junta at Bayonne was already assembled, and had entered upon its labours.

" Miracles were solemnly proclaimed at Sarragossa, Valladolid, Valentia, Seville, &c. These juggles, calculated only to dishonour religion, and, which would have had no effect in any other country on the continent, made the greatest impression on the inhabitants of Spain. On the coasts, a numerous party, known by their hatred to France, which incited the people to make a common cause with England, in order to procure

the freedom of commerce, roused the passions of the people, and affected to participate in their superstitious errors. Out of this disposition sprung the most fatal disorders, which burst out at the same moment in the Southern provinces of Navarre, Arragon, Estremadura, Castile, and the provinces of Leon, Asturia, and Galacia.

" They broke out on the 17th of May in the Southern provinces. The Councellor of State Don Miguel Saavedra, who was Captain-General of the kingdom of Valencia, endeavoured to oppose the views of the insurgents, but his life was threatened, and he fled to Requena. The insurgents, however, informed of his place of retreat, proceeded thither in a body, seized his person, dragged him to Valencia, and murdered him at the house of the Count of Cerbellon, who appeared to be of their party, but whose efforts to save the unfortunate victim were unavailing. The head of Don Miguel Saavedra was placed on a pike, carried round all the streets, and afterwards placed on the top of a pillar, whilst the Marquis d'Enerva, who was threatened with the same fate, had the good fortune to escape.

" At the commencement of the insurrection, the insurgents gave orders, that all the French resident in that kingdom should be conveyed to the citadel, and that their property should be confiscated. A few days after, they imprisoned the crew of a French ship, which, being chased by an English frigate, sought protection in a Spanish port. On the 14th of June, in a new transport of rage, they put the prisoners to death; but on the 17th, the members of the Junta, who, under pain of death, were compelled to sanction this proceeding, complained formally of the author of these cruelties, consigning him to general detestation, and particularizing him by the name of Balthazar

Calbo, an attendant upon the altar and a member of the chapter of St. Isidro, at Madrid.

" At Cuenca, the Corregidor and Intendant were put in irons, and carried off by the riotous peasantry, who before their departure, pillaged the houses of these two worthy magistrates, and treated their families with great cruelty.

" At Carthagena, the people put to death the Governor, who had, for a long period, enjoyed the esteem of all ranks.

" At Granada, General Truxillo, the Governor of Malaga, having arrived there on the 30th May, was put to death by the inhabitants, who dragged his body through the streets, hacked it in pieces, and afterwards consigned it to the flames.

" At Algesiras the French consul was put in prison on the 2d of June, and a mutinous rabble demanded his head; but the firmness of the better-disposed inhabitants prevented this additional atrocity.

" At St. Lucar de Baramedia, the Governor of the place, a general of distinguished rank and merit, was massacred by the people.

" At Jaen, the peasantry compelled the citizens to abandon their houses and properties, killed the Corregidor, and plundered the town.

" Seville having planted the standard of insurrection, formed a Junta of insurgents; and a corps of soldiers from the camps of St. Roch and Cadiz, seduced by the great pay which the insurgents promised them, repaired to their standard. The first proof that they gave of their prowess was the murder of Count d'Aguila, one of the worthiest men in Seville. A captain of smugglers was appointed Commander-in-Chief; and the insurgents, consisting of monks, deserters, and smugglers, marched out under arms to occupy the pass of Cordova.

" At Cadiz, the people rose, on the 27th and 28th of May, upon Lieut-General Solano (Marquis del Socorro), who was Captain-General of the Province, and Governor of the City, a man heretofore universally respected; the insurgents procured arms from the barracks, and cannon from the ramparts, attacked his house, seized his person and put him to death in the most cruel manner.

" At Carolina, the Corregidor, who wished to repress the tumult, was beheaded by the people.

" Occurrences no less horrible took place in the provinces of Navarre, Arragon and Catalonia.

" At Saragossa, the peasants shot the Colonel of the King's regiment of dragoons; and 33 officers of their party, against whom they mutined, were put to death in the most cruel manner.

" The same rancour against all authority, and every person invested with a public character, produced events no less cruel in Estremadura and the Castiles."

Can the reader be sufficiently intellectual to bear in mind that the narrative, written in the style he has just been reading, is the Usurper's account of his own aggression? Impossible! the unblushing assumption that persists in describing an independent people as rebels and intreating them as such; is so decidedly at variance with every equitable feeling, that we think it essentially necessary to pause, in order to impress that fact upon the memory, and with that view we shall here close the chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Napoleon's Retrospect continued.

"AT Badajos the insurrection broke out on the 30th of May, and was instantaneously at its height. The residence of the Governor, Count de la Torre del Fremo, was attacked. The insurgents demanded that they should be embodied and armed. The Governor and the Bishop presented themselves at a balcony, and admonished the multitude, but to no purpose, to return to a state of tranquillity. The more furious among them would listen to no advice. They overpowered the Palace Guard, forced their way into the Governor's chamber, dragged him out and carried him as far as the Palmas-gate, where they put him to death, with sticks and knives, and having stripped the body, presented it bleeding to his wife, while they were engaged in plundering the palace.

"At Valladolid, on the 5th of June, in pursuance of an order from General Cuesta, General Don Miguel Ceballos, officer of engineers, was thrown into the prison of Carbonero; but the insurgents dragged him out, hewed him to pieces on the Campo Grande, in the presence of his wife and children, and tearing him joint by joint, carried his severed limbs in triumph through the streets.

"At Alavera, on the 5th of June, the Corregidor attempted to punish some of the rioters; but they demanded his head, and it was owing to the courage of a few brave individuals that he had the good fortune to escape with his life.

" The provinces of Leon and Asturias were at the same time the theatre of scenes equally bloody.

" At Corunna, on May 29, General Filangeira endeavoured to pacify the peasantry by mild measures, but he would have been killed by a musket-shot, had not an artillery officer placed himself before his person, and by this means saved his life. On the following day, however, the insurgents got possession of his palace, which they destroyed. The General effected his escape to the cloister of St. Domingo.

" At Ferrol, on the 22d of June, the house of the Lieutenant-General of Marine, Obreson, was plundered; and that officer being discovered in the manufactory of Isquiendo, was thrown into the prison of St. Anthony.

" In the kingdom of Leon, the peasantry, on the 22d of June, entered several cities, towns, and villages. A number of the most respectable burghers were beheaded; and it is stated that the Governor of Corunna, the Corregidor of Leon, and Count Castro Fuerte, Colonel of the militia of Valto, on being put into the hands of General Cuesta, were delivered over to the executioner.

" Every where, those who from their worth, rank, virtue, or fortune, possessed the general esteem, paid with their heads for their brave resistance against oppression, and for their attachment to their country; whilst committees of insurrection made themselves masters of the public treasure, organised themselves, and spread the reign of terror among all the well-disposed inhabitants.

" The Ministers, the Members of the Junta of Madrid, and the Commission of Government, employed every means of pacification; but their efforts were unavailing, and they were unable to bring back to their obediance an ignorant and fanatical people, led astray by superstition and at-

tifice, and who abandoned themselves to the seduction of power and the allurements of plunder.

" This agitation was the inevitable result of the state of insecurity, suffering, and misfortune, into which a bad government had plunged the Spanish nation. It was prepared and excited into activity by the artifices and bribery of England, and that perversion of public opinion arising from the concurrence of political and party feelings, encouraged by the higher powers. It was necessary to have recourse to arms, in order to repress these excesses, and to strike terror into the evil-disposd.

" Marshal Bessieres directed, in the first instance, several detachments towards Logronno, Saragossa, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero. These columns, though inconsiderable in number, were every where successful, without sustaining any considerable loss.

" The town of Logronno was in a state of insurrection, and chose for its commander a stone-mason, known to be one of the worst characters in the district. General Verdier having received orders to march thither, with two battalions, surrounded the place on the 6th of June, and put the insurgents to flight, taking from them six pieces of bad artillery. He punished the most notorious of the insurgents; and placing again at the head of the magistracy the principal burghers, who had been thrown into prison, marched back to Vittoria.

" General Frere advanced towards Segovia, where some commotions had also taken place. On the 7th of June, having approached within a quarter of a mile, he sent a flag of truce to the magistracy, that they might exert themselves to bring back the insurgents to their duty; but the insurgents, about 5,000 in number, having 30 pieces of cannon, which they had taken from the park of Segovia, prevented the flag of truce from approaching by

a discharge of artillery. This induced the general to make an immediate attack: and the place was taken by storm, after an action in which a great number of the insurgents were slain, numbers made prisoners, and all their artillery taken. The city being cleared of the insurgents, and again its own mistress, submitted.

" General Lasalles advanced from Burgos upon Torquemada, where there were 6,000 insurgents, whom he attacked on the 7th with 500 foot chasseurs. They were driven out with the loss of 1,200 killed, and the village of Torquemada was burnt.

" General Lasalles advanced on the 8th to Palencia. On his approach he was met by a deputation, with the Bishop at their head, to inform him of the submission of the place, which immediately returned to its duty. The 9th and 10th were occupied by General Lasalles, in disarming the city and province of Palencia.

" On the 12th, the General proceeded to Duennas, where he formed a junction with General Merle, and thence continued his march to Valladolid. The banners of insurrection had been unfolded in that city; and General Cuesta, the Captain-General, placed himself at the head of the disaffected, and took post at Cabecon, with 7,000 insurgents and six pieces of cannon.

" Having reconnoitred the position of the insurgents, General Lasalles ordered General Sabathier to attack them with the field artillery, while General Merle was to take measures to cut off their retreat to Valladolid. After an action of half an hour, the insurgents were totally defeated, and put to the rout on all sides, leaving behind them their cannon, 4,000 muskets, and about a thousand killed.

" The Bishop of Valladolid, with the principal clergy, came out to meet General Lasalles; im-

ploring forgiveness for the town and its inhabitants. The French division entered Valladolid in the midst of a multitude who deserved a severe chastisement, but who, with admiration, witnessed the mercy and generosity of the French. The city and province were disarmed; and ten persons from the councils of Valencia, Segovia, and Valladolid, were deputed to wait upon his Catholic Majesty at Bayonne, in order to solicit his clemency, and to offer the homage and fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

" The Bishop of St. Andero, having excited his flock to insurrection, and abandoned himself to excess of every kind, General Merle directed his march towards the mountains of St. Andero, whither General Ducos also proceeded. On the 21st. at three o'clock in the morning, he attacked the insurgents in front of Lantuento, drove them from all their positions, and took from them two 18-pounders, which they had barely time to fire twice upon us, without wounding any one, though upon their side the loss was considerable.

" General Ducos, on the 20th, arrived at Soncillo, where he attacked the insurgents, and drove them back a mile. On the 21st, he did the same, on the road to Ventade L'Escudo, which was defended by 3,000 men, with four pieces of cannon. On the 22d, he was within four miles of St. Andero. On the 23d, Generals Merle and Ducos entered St. Andero, the one from the side of Torre de la Vega, the other by the road of Escudo. The moment they entered the place, the peasantry dispersed on all sides to their homes, and the inhabitants returned to the city.

" The city of St. Andero having submitted, took a solemn oath of allegiance to his Catholic Majesty in the same manner as had been done by Segovia, Palencia, and Valladolid.

" Thus did the troops under Marshal Bessieres,

in the space of a few days, take 30 pieces of cannon and 50,000 muskets, and disarm Palencia, Valladolid, &c. which secured the peace of Navarre, Guiposcoa, Allava, and Biscay.

" During the early operations of Marshal Bessieres, disturbances had also broken out in the Southern extremities of Navarre and Arragon.

" General Lefebvre advanced from Pampeluna at the head of 3,000 men, principally consisting of light troops of the first regiment of the Vistula. He advanced towards Tudela, where a body of from 3 to 4,000 men had arrived from Saragossa. He attacked and routed them on the 9th of June, taking from them six pieces of cannon. He punished the chief of the insurgents; he caused the bridge over the Ebro, that had been burned down, to be re-established, and marched at the head of the Polish light troops to Mallen, where the insurgents, reinforced from Saragossa, had again taken post. He came up with them on the 13th, and immediately began the attack. A single charge on the part of the Poles was sufficient to throw them into confusion, and put them to flight, leaving five pieces of cannon on the field.

" Similiar success was obtained on the 14th at Alagon, where the insurgents, from 3 to 4,000 strong, were put to flight, with the loss of their cannon. They made an equally ineffectual resistance on the 16th, in the olive plantations in the suburbs of Saragossa.

" The actions of Epila, and Monte Torrera, on the 23d and 27th, had a similar result.

" In these different expeditions, the insurgents had from 2 to 3,000 men killed, and a great number wounded. A considerable number of them were made prisoners, and they lost all their cannon, consisting of about 30 pieces: the loss on our side in killed was only from 20 to 30, and from 60 to 80 wounded.

" General Verdier joined General Lefebvre before Saragossa, and they invested the town. On the 2d of July, some howitzers began to play, and destroyed the monastery of St. Joseph, which covered a part of the walls of the city. Between the 2d and the 13th of July, all the necessary arrangements were made for hemming in the insurgents, more closely, and collecting materials for throwing a floating bridge over the Ebro. On the 11th, the passage of the river was forced, and some troops posted themselves on the left bank, in order to defend the workmen in the formation of the bridge, which was completed by noon on the 12th. In the mean time, several corps assembled in the plains, in order to obstruct our communication; but they were beaten at Almunia, Catallajud, and Taresty, on the road to Tudela, with a loss, in the different actions, of a great number of men, and a considerable quantity of military stores. The troops that occupied the left bank of the river before Saragossa also sustained various attacks from the detachments sent out from the city; but the insurgents were in every encounter driven back with the bayonet, with the loss in all these affairs, and particularly at Jouslival, of a number of men, and several eight-pounders. The blockade of the place, into which several corps of insurgents had thrown themselves, after having in vain endeavoured to keep the field, was now completely established.

" General Duhesme commanded in Catalonia, having his head-quarters at Barcelona. In several parts of his command, assemblies of the insurgents had taken place. The first symptoms of insurrection broke out in the towns of Manressa and Tarragona. In consequence of the applications made to them, they promised to lay down their arms; but not having fulfilled this promise, General Swartz occupied Manresa, and General Chabran Tarragona. General Swartz had orders to

proceed by the way of Lerida, and to visit Montserrat, where it was reported there were some disturbances. On the 6th of June he fell in with the insurgents at Bruck, defeated and killed a number of them. He obtained similar advantages at Espaguera, Martoreil, and at Malinos del Rey.

" Other parties of insurgent peasantry had fortified themselves with cannon, in a position on the river Lobrega. They had taken possession of some artillery which they found on the coast. General Duhesme attacked them. They were every where defeated and pursued, from eight to eleven o'clock, and all their artillery was taken. This expedition terminated with very little loss on our side, but with great on the part of the insurgents.

" New bodies of insurgents having come down from the mountains, cut off the communication between Mont Gatte and Mont Cana, and occupied the little Castle of Mont Gatte, where they entrenched themselves. They were suddenly attacked on the 17th. The Castle of Mont Gatte was taken by storm, the insurgents lost a great nnmber of their men, their colours, and 20 pieces of cannon. General Lecchi, in pursuing the fugitives, arrived at the city of Mattaro, which was put in a state of defence and barricadoed. He attacked and carried the city with the same rapidity, and took ten pieces of cannon.

" General Duhesme directed his column to the passes of St. Paulus. On the 19th he attacked them, took them by surprise, and captured ten pieces of artillery.

" After these various engagements, the object of which was to maintain the communications, General Duhesme returned to Barcelona. His loss scarcely amounted to 100 men in killed and wounded; that of the insurgents was very considerable.

" During these operations, a new line of insurgents had formed itself behind the Lobrega, which was considerably swelled by the melting of the snow a few days before, in the mountains, and the rain that had fallen. At Molinos del Rey, they had a battery of three pieces of artillery, which commanded the stone bridge, which was broken in different places. All the fords down to the very mouth of the river were defended. The right wing of the insurgents extended down to the beach, and two pieces of flying artillery manœuvred in the rear of the line. In the morning of the 30th of June, the troops marched to attack the insurgents. General Goulesse and Brigader-General Bessieres proceeded to the mouth of the river, and forced a passage to the right bank. They thus took in reverse all the positions of the insurgents, who offered no resistance, and sustained a very heavy loss. In the mean time General Lecchi's division attacked and carried the bridge of Molinos del Rey, and took the three pieces of cannon by which it was defended. The remains of the body of insurgents, defeated at all points, fell back to Martoveille, which was their general rendezvous. General Lecchi pursued, routed them, and made himself master of that position. Their loss cannot be estimated. There were found on the field of battle 40,000 muskets; and the insurgents lost all the artillery which they had carried off with them.

" On the side of Figueras, several bodies of the peasants had united to cut off the communication with that city. General Rieble repaired thither on the 5th of July from Bellegarde: he defeated and routed the insurgents, supplied the place with provisions, and reinforced the garrison.

" During these events which took place in Biscay, Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, Marshal Moncey broke up with his army, in consequence

of an insurrection in the kingdom of Valencia. On the 21st of June, he came up with the insurgents, in the fine positions which surround the village of Pesquera, and who defended with four pieces of artillery the bridge over the river of Cabrielle, and the entrance of the passes. The bridges and the passes were carried, the insurgents lost their artillery, and 500 Swiss and Spanish guards came over to our ranks. The insurgents having formed a junction with their principal army, retreated to Las Cabreras and Siete Annas, in front of which they intrenched themselves in a position which they conceived to be impregnable. Marshal Moncey came in sight of them on the 24th, and found them, in fact, in possession of a very excellent position, and extremely difficult of access. Having attacked them with the greatest fury, they were driven from one hill to another, lost all their positions, and fled in disorder, leaving behind all their artillery, consisting of 12 pieces, their ammunition, and almost all their baggage. The army continued its march towards Valencia, where a Junta of insurgents had been formed: they came up with the insurgents about a mile and a half from that city. They had entrenched themselves behind the canal, and having broken down the bridge by the village of Quarte, defended the passage with artillery. Our artillery immediately took its station; the troops marched in columns upon various points, and in less than one hour their line was broken, the bridge re-established, the village of Quarte carried, five pieces of cannon taken, and the whole of the insurgents routed.

"At day-break on the following day (the 28th,) Marshal Moncey advanced towards Valencia. The environs of that city are intersected by a great number of canals, and covered with ruins and houses. The suburbs extend close to the gates.

Marshal Moncey gave orders for the attack. French intrepidity overcame every obstacle. The suburbs were carried, and the streets strewed with dead bodies. Twenty pieces of artillery were taken; but the walls being surrounded with ditches filled with water, were secure against a surprize. The Marshal pitched his camp under them, waiting the arrival of some pieces of heavy artillery.

"Some days after, he was informed that a division of insurgents, from five to six thousand men, were resolved to keep the field. He marched immediately, and proceeded to the right bank of the Xucar: the heights were instantly attacked and carried; the insurgents were defeated; they lost several pieces of cannon, and were pursued fighting all the way to the heights of Almanza.

"On the 3rd instant they were surprised in the defiles: a great number of them were killed. Our troops took possession of Almanza, where Marshal Moncey received orders to take a position at St. Clement's. He had collected heavy artillery necessary for the attack of Valencia, and he was upon the point of advancing to that place, when the events in Andalusia ordered it otherwise.

"In these different affairs, in which Marshal Moncey had six different engagements, he killed a great many of the enemy, and took 50 pieces of cannon and three standards. His loss consisted of 200 killed and 500 wounded.

"During these various operations, the people of Cuenca were guilty of the greatest extravagances against a French officer and several soldiers. Brigader-General Caulincourt received orders to march for the purpose of chastising them. He withdrew from Tarencon, on the 1st of July, and arrived at Cuenca on the 3rd, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The insurgents seemed determined to prevent the approach of the French troops; the latter consisted of between 3 and 4000 men, and

two pieces of cannon. General Caulincourt attacked them immediately; they lost their artillery, and were put to the route; so that they thought no more of defending the place, and fled in all directions towards the hills, leaving their arms, and between 7 and 800 killed and wounded behind them. The town, which was deserted on the approach of the French, was given up to plunder.

"General Dupont, who left Madrid about the end of May, had repaired to Andalusia. He passed the Sierra Morena in the beginning of June, and was on his march to Guadalquivir. When he arrived at Andujar, he learned that a rebellious Junta was established at Seville, and that the cities of Cordova and Granada, and a part of Jaen, were in a state of insurrection, while a numerous body was formed in the environs of Cordova. He instantly put himself in motion, and, on the 6th, he was in possession of Montoro, Carpio, and Bugalenca, without meeting with any of the insurgents. He, however, received intelligence from a messenger that he sent to Alcolea, a small distance from Cordova, that the insurgents were there in great force, and that it was their intention to dispute his passage over the Guadalquivir.

"The bridge of Alcolea is very long, and difficult of access, and was defended by a *tête-du-pont*, by batteries placed upon a neighbouring height, and by infantry, which kept up a very brisk fire from both shores of the river. The first attack was made on the 7th, at the break of day. It was remarked that the bridge was not broken: an immediate attack was therefore ordered to be made on the entrenchments, which were defended by very deep ditches. The *tête-du-pont*, the bridge, and the village of Alcolea, were carried in a few minutes. The insurgents fled in the greatest disorder, leaving their cannon and a number of killed and wounded behind.

"Those who escaped from Alcolea, retreated to Cordova, without endeavouring to defend the camp which the insurgents had pitched before the place, and where arms were found of the most wonderful and extraordinary make, besides pikes and English arms.

"The light corps having arrived before Cordova the General summoned the Corregidor to attend him, and sent the prior of a cloister to admonish him to make no resistance, but to accept of the grace offered them by the French. These measures proved fruitless, as the insurgents were 15,000 in number, and about 2,000 regular troops began to fire on all sides. The French cannon then beginning to fire, a breach was made in the gates, and the place was entered by force.

"The advantages of this day were complete: the enemy lost a number of men, and tranquillity was restored to Cordova.

"On the 19th Captain Base was sent with a column of 900 infantry, 100 cavalry and artillery, to fetch provisions from Jaen. He was preceded by two flags of truce, upon whom the insurgents fired; on the following morning he made an attack upon the entrenched camp, the strong castle, and the town. This attack was vigorous; all positions were forced. The insurgents had 200 killed and 500 wounded. The column lost scarcely five men.

"In the mean while, two divisions of smugglers, making about 3,000 men, had approached Sierra Morena, and interrupted the communication with Madrid. The Duke of Rovigo, who had taken the command in the room of the Grand Duke of Berg, dispatched General Vedel with his division, and that of General Gobert.

"General Vedel arrived in the defiles of Pens Pinnor, on the 26th. To see the enemy; to at-

tack him, to overcome him, and put him to flight, was only the work of a moment. The insurgents lost 900 men, their artillery, together with their ammunition and provisions. We had 2 killed and 10 wounded. Thus the junction of General Vedel with General Dupont was effected. General Dupont placed General Vedel at Baylen, and General Gobert at Carolina.

"With his first division he took possession of Andujar, where he formed a *tête-du-pont* on the Guadalquivir: another *tête-du-pont* was formed near the village of Menjibar, on the road from Jaen to Baylen.

"To preserve the post of Jaen was an object of importance, because this was nearer to the line of communication than that of Andujar: of course the latter might be maintained even when the enemy should be in possession of Jaen. Brigadier-General Cassagne was dispatched to Jaen: he had been with the advanced guard in several engagements, in which he had been constantly victorious.

"The situation of General Dupont, which had at first occasioned some uneasiness, was no longer so after he had thus been reinforced, and while there was a day's march between him and the enemy in the defiles of Sierra Morena. He had a greater force under him than was necessary, if not for subjugating the whole province, at least quite sufficient for preserving it from surprise.

"Such was the situation of affairs about the 20th of July, the period of the arrival of the King of Spain; far and wide was the dispersion of the insurgents: checked, subdued, or disarmed, they had not been able to carry any attempt of importance into effect.

"The preparations for the siege of Saragossa were pursued with activity. The artillery necessary for that purpose had arrived from Bayonne

and Pampeluna. The insurgents made a sortie on the 23rd from Saragossa, to attack the troops posted on the left bank of the Ebro. The third battalion of the volunteers of Arragon, forming the flower of these insurgents, began their march on the 30th, in order to force their way into Saragossa. The insurgents were defeated with great loss in all their sorties, and were generally closely pursued under the walls.

" On the 16th of August, about break of day, a breach being made, the storming of the place commenced. The gates of San en Gracio and Carmes were surprised and carried. After obstinate fighting, which lasted several days, fourteen cloisters, which had been fortified, three-fourths of the city, the arsenal, and all the magazines, were in our possession. The peaceable inhabitants, encouraged by the advantages of the French, hoisted a white flag, and coming forward to offer terms of capitulation to the French, were murdered by the insurgents, at whose head monks were seen acting as captains and colonels: a great number of these wretches were killed; the unfortunate city of Saragossa is almost ruined through fire, the bombs, and the explosion of the mines.

" In the meanwhile, almost all the Spanish troops of the line in Gallicia and Andalusia had taken part with the insurgents. The troops of the line at Madrid, St. Sebastian, Barcelona, &c. &c. left those places to join them.

" The French having come into Spain as friends, and acting in concert with the ministers, the councils, and the principal burghers, were unwilling to disarm the Spanish troops, and for a long time restrained themselves from any kind of hostilities; but the result has made it appear how fatal this generosity has proved to the French.

" We were very soon informed that a corps of 35,000 men, with 40 pieces of cannon, were as-

sembled at Benevente, with whom there were some English commissioners and officers, besides all the Spanish prisoners that had been sent to Spain by the English government: these were known by the red uniforms which they were supplied with from London.

"This army began its march as though it had been intended to proceed to Burgos. Marshal Bessieres marched to meet them with General Mouton's division of infantry, that of Merle, with General Lasalle's division of cavalry, forming in the whole a corps of 12,000 men.

"On the 14th, at day break, he discovered the enemy covering a great extent of ground, and being in possession of the heights of Medina del Rio Seco.

"As soon as the position of the enemy was known, the Marshal formed the resolution of attacking their left. General Darmagnac was the first that was engaged at the head of his brigade. At this moment the attack became general: Mouton, general of division, made himself master of the town of Medina del Rio Seco with the bayonet; the Generals Lasalles, Ducos, and Sabattier, led on their troops, with the cry of 'Long live the Emperor!' All the positions were carried, the enemy attacked with the bayonet, and the whole of their artillery, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, was taken, and the whole army of the insurgents thrown into the greatest confusion. Six thousand men were made prisoners; upwards of 10,000 were left on the field of battle; the whole of their baggage and ammunition fell into our hands; a number of superior officers were killed. The 10th and the 22nd regiment of Chasseurs, and all the troops in general, were covered with glory. Colonel Picton, an officer of distinguished merit, is killed; General Darmagnac is slightly wounded, together with Pro-

visory Major commandant of the 13th regiment. The Adjutant-Commandant Guilleminot, Chief of Marshal Bessiere's staff, displayed great address and activity. The Marshal had not more than 300 men killed and wounded in this affair.

" The enemy fled to Benevente in disorder, where they scarcely remained a moment, but retreated from thence to Labenara, Astorga, and Leon. At Villa Pardo, he left behind him 5,000 pounds of powder and 100,000 cartridges. The English colonel, who acted as commissioner with the Spanish army, retreated to Lugo before the battle commenced.

" Marshal Bessieres, pursuing the enemy, arrived at Benevente on the 19th, where he found 10,000 muskets, 26,000 pounds of powder, and 200,000 cartridges, which the insurgents had left behind them, in consequence of their precipitate flight. He received a letter of submission from the inhabitants of Zamora; and on the 20th, the day following, he entered that city, from whence he proceeded to Majorga, where he was informed that General Cuesta, who had passed through Leon with scarcely five hundred cavalry, had ordered the fugitives to rally.

" Arriving at Majorga, a deputation from Leon presented themselves to him. General Cuesta had left that city, where 12,000 new muskets, a number of pistols and sabres, with five pieces of cannon, remained.

" Marshal Bessieres entered Leon on the 26th. The Bishop came two miles out of that city to meet him, and the members of the government received the army on the outside of the gates, assuring the Marshal of the submission of the inhabitants, and praying for the generosity of the conqueror in behalf of the city and province of Leon.

" By means of this important conquest, the

provinces of Leon, Palencia, Valladolid, Zamora, and Salamanca, were subjugated and disarmed, and the communication with Portugal opened and secured.

" All these events, connected with the arrival of the King at Madrid, seemed to portend a most favourable issue to the affairs of Spain, when General Dupont, after a succession of disasters, which we cannot account for, had the inexpressible misfortune of having his communication cut off with Madrid; and what was still worse, to be himself seperated from two-thirds of his force, being at that time six miles distant from his usual point of communication; and lastly, on the 19th of July, being compelled to give battle with only one-third of his army, in a disadvantageous position, after a forced march during the night, without any opportunity for resting his troops.

" There are few examples of a conduct so inconsistent with all the principles of the military art. The General who was unable to command his army, discovered himself in the negociations which followed, equally destitute of political firmness and ability. Like Sabinus Titurius, he rushed upon destruction, entirely from a spirit of infatuation, and suffered himself to be deceived by the artifices and persuasions of another Ambiorix. But the Roman soldiers, more fortunate than ours, perished with their arms in their hands.

" This unexpected intelligence, still more important from the encouragement which it must give the insurgents, the advices of numerous descents by the English on the coast of Gallicia, and the excessive heat of the season, which checked all the operations which circumstances might render necessary, induced the King to assemble his troops, and to place them in a cooler climate than that of New Castile, and in a situation which presents a milder atmosphere and better water.

" The King left Madrid on the 1st of August, and the whole army went into cooler cantonments.

" So late as the 20th of August, the insurgents had not entered Madrid. They appeared to be in a state of compleat confusion and dissention.

" One the 22d, the King was at Burgos, and parties sent out to the distance of from fifteen to twenty miles could procure no intelligence of the enemy.

" Every intelligent pérson sees with regret, that England has obtained the melancholy advantage of exciting among the Spaniards a civil war, of which the issue is not doubtful. But what influence can the rational and enlightened class have upon the ignorant multitude, when led astray by fanaticism popular prejudices, and foreign corruption?

" General Duhesme has again entered Barcelona, where he intends to unite his corps, and to keep that important city in check, all the forts of which are in his hands.

" The English cruizers having landed some emissaries at Bilboa, the people of that city were weak enough to break out into insurrection, in which, however, the mercantile and respectable classes of inhabitants took no part. General Merlin marched against the place with two squadaons of cavalry, and two regiments of infantry. He carried two monasteries by storm, disarmed the insurgents, and re-established the government of the province. The loss of the insurgents amounted to 500 men. Our's consisted in only three killed and twelve wounded.

" Such is a correct abstract of the events of the campaign in Spain. There has been no battle, not a single action, in which the courage of our troops was not displayed to advantage.

" Had General Dupont kept his troops united in a body, he would, without much difficulty,

have dispersed the insurgents, their army having consisted only of three divisons, scarcely forming a total of 20,000 men.

" The corps of the insurgents scarcely deserve to be mentioned in this war. They defend themselves behind a wall or a house, but could not maintain themselves in the open fields; and a single squadron of cavalry, or a battlion of infantry, is sufficient to put many thousands of them to the rout.

" The principal army of the insurgents was that which Marshal Bessieres annihilated at Medina del Rio Seco.

" All that the English papers have published, respecting the affairs of Spain, is unfounded and false. England knows well the part she is acting on this occasion. She also knows well what she is to expect from all her efforts. Her only object is to involve Spain in confusion, that she may thereby make herself mistress of such of her possessions as best suit her purposes."

CHAPTER III.

Napoleon's Views upon Spain extend to her Colonies.—The Pope urges the Spaniards to resist him.—Spanish Colonies Declare War against France.—Intrigues in Europe, Commercial Restraints.—Preparations for the Campaign.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confidence with which all the statements of his enemies were denied, the Emperor could not command an implicit belief in his own; and the violence he had recently committed on the state of the Pope, deprived him of all that influence of the Catholic clergy, which, upon ordinary occasions—for the mere love of peace, always teaches them to believe whatever is commanded by the strongest.

His Majesty's statement was met by a Proclamation from the Holy Father, in which the Spaniards were called upon to resist him to the uttermost, and were encouraged by all the spiritual consolations that Christ's vicar could bestow.

PROCLAMATION

Of the Holy Father Pope PIUS VII. *to the* CATHOLIC SPANIARDS.

Beloved Children.—"You who deplore at the foot of the altar the wounds given to religion—You who are still mindful that we form one people of brethren, behold the vicar of Christ parted by violence from the throne of his predecessors; approach ye families, this remnant of vast destruction to see me like Daniel, surrounded by lions; preserved hitherto by the inscrutable designs of Providence—I see the vessel of St. Peter entrusted to my care combated by the fierce apostate, whom myself have placed on the throne, and who like a degenerate son, pants for the destruction of his mother, the church, to whom he had sworn fidelity at her altar. But let us draw off the veil that covers so great iniquity. The first victim that

was sacrificed to his ambition has been your shepherd. Rome, the centre of faith and the shield of religion, has been postituted. The idle Dagon has been united to the cruel Antioch of our days to accomplish the destruction of religion, which is the great bar to his perfidious designs. However, do not despond. The successor of St. Peter is still extant, though overwhelmed with affliction; groaning under his chains, he lifts his eyes and tremulous hands to heaven, imploring incessantly the protection of the God of hosts over his flock!—Oh! the happy effects of religion! In this fatal situation, my soul, penetrated with Christian feelings, learns with transport and surprise, that Spain, happy Spain, has remained true to her religion and king. I hasten, my beloved children, to surmount the shackles by which I am depressed, to transmit to your kingdoms the circular that will testify to you of my gratitude. Arouse, and combat, like David, the imperious Goliath of our times.—Valorous Spaniards, sons of the church, come and break the chains of your shepherd. Already my heart assures me of your sensibility; do not tarry; raise the standard of faith; victory invites you; come then to your brothers in bondage. Raise your tents, and pursue the usurper of nations. Enter into the heart of his dominions, and follow him to the remotest limits of the earth. Shew to the nations of the North that oppression is in its agony, and let the Spanish sword strike the decisive blow on the guilty head. Compassionate the ill-fated kingdom of France, condole with its people, and they will assist you to overwhelm her traitorous tyrant. Oh, with what transport will the Catholic Ferdinand learn the intrepidity and heroic loyalty of his subjects! The streight situation to which he is, like myself, doomed, precludes the means to him of manifesting the sentiments of his magnanimous heart. I feel not the strength of saying more. If I survive the calamity, and you spill your blood for religion, your country and monarch, for whom I supplicate from heaven all happiness, the world shall be witness to my gratitude."

It was now the opinion of both the contending parties, the French as well as the English, that a crisis was approaching, which, if neglected, might give the war a decided turn in favour of his adversary; each therefore began to exert his endeavours with renewed vigilance. Whilst the measures of the English government evinced a design to overcome the fatal effects of the Cintra Convention in Spain; those of the Emperor of Russia were decidedly promoting the interest of

Buonaparté in Sweden. The war in that country which closed by robbing her of the province of Finland, brought so much odium upon the King Gustavus Adolphus, that the popular discontents gave birth to conspiracies, which though not republican, like those that overthrew the Houses of Bourbon and Nassau, seemed equally determined to drive the monarch from his throne.

The same spirit that was busily employed in Europe to bring all things under subjection to the great Emperor, fled across the Atlantic; and the partizans of England had the mortification to find that Liniers, Governor of Buenos Ayres, who had beaten out the army of Whitelock, twelve months before, was at work, endeavouring to add the empire of South America to a dominion already sufficiently powerful to disturb the peace of the universe. What were the arguments used, and what the expectations formed upon the occasion, our readers will collect from the following

PROCLAMATION

By Don Santiago Liniers y Bremond, *Viceroy, Governor, and Provincial Captain-General of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, &c. Dated Buenos Ayres, August* 15, 1808.

Brave and faithful Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres.—"Since the arrival of the last vessel from Cadiz, bringing advices of the events which have occurred in our mother country, relative to the abdication of the crown, executed by our beloved monarch, Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand VII. and the removal of the whole of the Royal Family to France, I consider you as anxious to fix your opinion upon a matter in which your loyalty is so deeply interested. This anxiety must have been greatly increased by the arrival of the French agent, who brought over various dispatches for this supreme government. The clamours of the unthinking have reduced your accredited enthusiasm to a state of irresolution. The not immediately declaring to you the object of his mission may, perhaps, have appeared to you a want of confidence very contrary to that which I place in you, and which your patriotism has merited. But whilst you were employed in idle

conjectures, the fathers of the country, your magistrates, and the chief, who has repeatedly conducted you to glorious triumphs, were incessantly occupied in devising the best means for maintaining your character, interest, and tranquillity.—From an examination of the contents of all the dispatches, it appears, that the Emperor of the French has been compelled to recognise the absolute independence of the Spanish Monarchy, and also that of all its transmarine possessions, without retaining or dismembering the minutest portion of its dominions; and to maintain the unity of religion, our properties, laws, and usages, which guarantee the future prosperity of the nation; and though the fate of the monarchy was not entirely decided, the Cortes were summoned to meet at Bayonne on the 15th of June last, whither the deputies of cities, and other persons of all ranks in Spain, were repairing, to the number of one hundred and fifty. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, after applauding your triumphs and constancy, exhorts you to maintain with energy the high opinion which you have acquired by your valour and loyalty, offering you at the same time succours of every description; and I have not hesitated to assure him in reply, that the fidelity of this city to its lawful sovereign is the character which chiefly distinguishes it, and that I shall thankfully admit every description of aid, consisting of arms, ammunition, and Spanish troops. In times so calamitous nothing can so much contribute to your security as union and coincidence of sentiment on a point so interesting to the public happiness. Let us imitate the example of our ancestors in this happy land, who wisely escaped the disasters that afflicted Spain in the war of the succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother country, to obey the legitimate authority which occupied the sovereignty.—Meanwhile not possessing orders sufficiently authoritative, to countermand the royal cedulas of the supreme council of the Indies for proclaiming and taking the oaths to Don Ferdinand VII. as already announced in my Proclamation of the 31st of July, I have resolved that those measures shall be proceeded in with the forms and solemnities already agreed upon, flattering myself that in the midst of the public rejoicings and happiness we shall prepare ourselves for new triumphs.

"I communicate this by special couriers, to all the heads of provinces on this continent, that by adopting one uniform system, they may make the greater efforts to facilitate the succours necessary to preserve the glory acquired by a city, which from its local situation, and its energy, has been, and will continue to be, the impregnable bulwark of South America. But I cannot conclude without impressing upon you, and yourselves cannot but know it, that no force is com-

parable to union of opinion and feeling, nor any means more effective to preserve you invincible than reciprocal confidence between you and the constituted authorities, who, attentive only to the public interest and benefit, will see with dissatisfaction and abhorrence every thing that opposes or separates itself from the general prosperity.

"SANTIAGO LINIERS."

Buenos Ayres, August 11, 1808.

The Emperor who had artfully sent off from the seat of his sham government at Bayonne, instructions to the different commanders in the colonies, or new commanders to supercede those that he could not trust, expected to reap the greatest successes from the promptitude with which his agents would intrigue in his favour; upon an ordinary occasion he would, in all probability, have reaped the fruit of his diligence; but here the theatre of action was beyond the influence of his arms—the spell was dissolved, and wherever the people could express their sentiments, unawed by the contributions and ransackings of a French army, they declared the most indignant determination to resist his insidious arts.

When the news of Buonaparté's treachery and usurpation reached the Havanna, the very sound of his name was heard by the people with the utmost abhorence, and not a moment was lost in commencing open war against France, which was declared by the Governor in the following

PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of the Island of CUBA, *worthy Sons of the generous* SPANISH *Nation!*

"I HASTEN to make known to you that I have this day received several Manifestoes and Proclamations, published and printed by order of the Supreme Board of Government, which has assembled and established itself at Seville; in consequence of an act of perfidy, the most infamous ever witnessed by any preceding century—papers, which, as you

will soon be convinced, do not appear to have been dictated by men but by angels—papers, finally, which must necessarily produce the vindication of Spain, hitherto played with and sacrificed, and the liberty of all Europe, which was enslaved by the same hand that has afflicted our brethren. It appears from those papers, and I am certified by persons the most worthy of credit, who have been eye-witnesses of the atrocious and horrible excesses committed in our mother country in the months of April and May, that the French Government, assuming the false character, of friend and ally, seduced Ferdinand VII. the best and most virtuous of kings, by abusing his generosity and good faith, to draw him into its territories under captious and insidious pretences, and by similar felonious artifices induced his august parent, and the whole of the royal Family, to follow him, for the purpose of treating them, as it has done, with the utmost contempt and ignominy; and consummating lastly its horrible projects, by compelling them to renounce the crown of Spain in favour of an odious stranger, without any other pretensions than an insatiable ambition; at the same time, when his executioners and assassins spilt the glorious blood of the inhabitants of Madrid, in return for the brotherly hospitality with which they were received and cherished, as their own chiefs have publicly acknowledged. Our language does not contain an expression adequate to characterize a conduct so horrible, which has stamped France with opprobrium and infamy, and all Europe with mourning, and carried fear and terror to the most insensible and barbarous nations. Do not imagine, however, that the honour, the greatness of character, and majestic dignity of Spain, should have been dismayed at the sight of so much confusion and afflictive calamity. Far from it; the virtuous and magnanimous sons of the country of heroism are determined to fight until the last of her twelve millions of inhabitants shall gloriously fall, to avenge so humiliating an outrage, their prostituted religion, their violated wives, and their murdered sons, and to rescue their adored Ferdinand from captivity. So it is, do not doubt it: they will make the authors of so much iniquity tremble, and exterminate them. They are animated by a holy rage, capable of breaking asunder the links of the chain by which all the nations of Europe are kept under oppression: they have taken such measures as would have done honour to a Fabius, a Paulus Emilius, or a Scipio. They have concluded an armistice with Great Britain; Great Britain, dear and consoling name to mankind, to which henceforward should be added, that of "shield of suffering humanity," from the same just reason from which Spain should assume the title of "deliverer of the world." They act in concert with the vir-

tuous and magnanimous Britons; for although they were but lately our foes, to whom is it unknown that it proceeded only from the violence and Machiavalism of the French government? Do not accuse me, on perceiving this assertion not to be conformable to that very contrary one made by me, in the Proclamation of the 27th of January last; for, besides that almost every government labours under certain systematical vices, and from thence commits some acts of injustice whereby it renders itself liable to be inveighed against, and particularly when in a state of war, it became a duty of my station to frame my language according to that of my superiors, in whose name I officiated, and in which manner I act on the present occasion; yet with this difference, that my heart with just indignation beats in unison, and my blood boils, with anxiety to be shed for our religion, our king, and our country. Be you fully persuaded, and confidently trust that the other nations whose hearths and whose fields remain covered with the yet reeking innocent blood of the flower of their youth, which was shed in consequence of the most incomprehensible success had by the genius of desolution, having united with Spain and Great Britain, will return from the panic dismay into which they were thrown, and gaining new courage to cast off the yoke, they will assist at the first and most noble work of humanity, with the same fury as shewn by a lioness when in pursuit to recover her whelps. The Frenchmen themselves, that illustrious and generous nation, worthy of a better fate, will be eager to wash off the black spots with which by their own hands they have stained their renown. Commisserate them, and do not look upon them with odium and hatred, for they are our brethren, and will soon be our friends. The Divine Creator of men, the arbiter of the fate of nations, is interested in this holy and exalted work, and we must not doubt of his protection. I see you full of ardent anxiety to fly to participate in its performance; but a distance of two thousand leagues unfortunately deprives you of that glorious and supreme felicity: yet this is of little importance. The funds and sums of money for public expenditure are not less necessary than personal service; and you have it in your power thus to participate, by means of offerings more salutary to mankind, and more grateful to the eyes of the Deity than any that was ever made in the Holy Temple. Imitate the heroism of Spain; lessen your expences; renounce your superfluities; establish a Spartan economy; let not an ounce of gold and silver remain upon your soil but that which is dedicated to the most religious sacrifices. Have you less virtue and less generosity than the Romans, when the victorious Hannibal marched towards Rome? Are you more attached to your property, and have you less disinterestedness than those heathens who

knew not the true God? Have you less respect for your holy religion, less loyalty, and less love for your country, your customs, your laws, and your government? Do you less cherish your wives and tender infants? Do you entertain less horror of tyranny and slavery with which you are threatened by the common enemy as soon as he has subjugated your brethren, which heaven forbid! Would you prefer keeping your riches entire in order that the booty may be so much more agreeable and acceptable to his avarice, rather than sacrifice a part of them to such noble objects, and save the remainder at so little cost? Preserve from danger your mother country; and rescue from captivity your liege King, who mounted the throne after the most eminent proofs of his virtue and heroism, which he has given by his readiness to mount the scaffold under the enormous infamy of passing for a regicide and parricide, with a view and for the purpose only of rendering you happy, by producing the dismissal of a perfidious traitor and despotic favourite. Pardon me if I offend your delicacy, your generosity, your well proved loyalty, and your holy ambition of true glory. My imagination, disconcerted by such fatal suppositions, scarcely permits me to articulate the words, and much less enables me to presume their truth, I am convinced that you will do much more than that which I demand. I well know your virtues, and you are not ignorant how high I estimate them, and which are the sentiments of my heart as regards you and every one among you. Yes, this is the epoch at which Amemerica and her illustrious sons, fired by the noble blood of Spain, which runs through their veins, will develope the greatness of their souls, and acquire as much glory as was lately acquired by the heroic inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and still so much more brilliant, as moral virtues exceed the sanguinary triumphs of Mars. The benefits which you will produce on this occasion, will be common to all Spaniards, to all the nations of Europe, and to yourselves; but the sweet pleasure of having their blessings, which will resound in succeeding generations, will be the peculiar reward of your own beneficence, the highest reward that can be bestowed by man; a reward infinitely preferable to all equivocal distinctions and titles granted by princes, were they as generally granted to virtue as they are to vice and corruption.

"I hasten to issue this Proclamation, that you may at once be acquainted with the great object which must occupy the attention and attract the heart of every Spaniard; indeed, of every friend to man. But at the same time, I do most earnestly recommend to you, a firm reliance in Divine Providence, which provides a remedy for every evil in virtue, fortitude, and magnanimity, at no period more requisite than on this occasion; displaying prudence, moderation, and docility, that

you may restrain the anxiety of your temper; avoid all riot and disorder, and refrain from offering any insult or vexation to the peaceful, laborious, and useful Frenchmen, the cultivators of our soil and our friends, who, abhorring the scenes daily presented to their view by the most sanguinary and most disgraceful Revolution that ever stained the leaves of history, sought for and met in your circle the sacred asylum ever afforded by brotherly hospitality; observing nevertheless, that in case there should be any amongst them whose presence shall be found dangerous or obnoxious, he or they shall be suffered in peace to depart from this island, taking the remainder under the protection of Spanish humanity, and of the strong arm of justice which is ready to be exerted with every severity against those who may offend them either by word or deed. If you listen to the paternal advice I give you, and carefully observe it, I do most confidently trust in the infinite goodness of the Most High, in your loyalty and heroism, that you will soon perceive the Aurora of tranquillity, of commerce, of prosperity, and glory emanating more splendid and brilliant for you and your succeeding generations.

"M. DE SOMERUELOS."

Havanna, July 17, 1808.

To which a Proclamation was added by the Commandant General of Marine.

BY THE COMMANDANT-GENERAL OF MARINE.

"SOLDIERS and Mariners! The Provinces of Spain have united for the purpose of asserting the rights of their Sovereign, and freeing themselves from the oppression of the Tyrant of Europe. Their reasons are as public as they are just; their Proclamations as well as the Manifestoes of the Tyrant himself detail them. From this day forward we will fight and shed our blood to the last drop, for the liberty of our Sovereign and that of our mother country, in the defence of our religion and of our honour. In a cause so visibly just, what may not be atchieved by those who have hitherto spontaneously bled for honour in blind obedience to their Sovereigns and their Representatives, as charcaterestic of the Spanish nation? Spain swears not to lay down her arms until her Sovereign shall be free, and the outrages against the nation be avenged. We will also swear it; and in the event, which must not and cannot be expected, that every Spaniard should fall in the mother country, yet Spain will not cease to exist. This is Spain; we are Spaniards like themselves, and here Ferdinand VII. and his successors will reign. The inhabitants of this island cannot permit us to

entertain a doubt on the subject; the enthusiasm with which they have proclaimed him, warrant us in this conclusion: let us assist them therefore in preserving this precious territory for our Sovereign, if the tyrant should attempt to invade it. Let us unite our efforts to succour our mother country, although we at present are deprived of the honour of defending it; yet let us not forget that the Frenchmen inhabiting this island are not subjects of Napoleon I.; they are not of the number of those who have vilely submitted to dishonour their country by serving as mercenary assassins to a foreigner; but with abhorrence of the excesses they had seen committed, not wishing to live under his iron yoke, they have come to live under the mild and pacific government of Spain.

"VILLAVICENCIO."

Havanna, July 21, 1808.

The zeal and fervour of *all* classes was equal to the most ardent desires of the military commanders; the general feeling however was expressed with so much force and significant brevity by a body of Churchmen, that we do not think it necessary to copy any of the addresses, but that presented to the Governor by the Franciscan friars.

SEIGNOR PRESIDENT, *Governor and Captain-General of the City and Island of Cuba.*

"THE precautions which you have just adopted to guard against an attack on the part of France, assured us of the truth of the reports which are in circulation, of the unexampled perfidy with which the Emperor of the French, abusing the frankness and good faith of our ever loved Ferdinand VII. has detained him in France, and subjected his kingdom to all the horrors of war, respecting neither age, sex, nor rank, and even stretching forth his sacrilegious hand towards the sanctuary. We should think ourselves guilty of the highest crime, did we suffer to pass unnoticed so barbarous a proceeding. We are Spaniards; and there runs in our veins not only the blood of those heroes who have so nobly adhered to their Sovereign, but also that of those who have fallen, and at this moment are falling, victims to the ferocity of Murat and the furies who accompany him. Though, from our profession, we may not appear qualified for any other task than that of directing the spiritual concerns of our brethren, and supplicating God, between the porch and the altar, to look down with an eye of compassion on his people: nevertheless, while we

are not unmindful of that duty and will constantly discharge it, we earnestly entreat that you will call upon us, and allow us to be among the first to be employed in any service, however difficult and laborious, even that of carrying arms, in case of necessity, in the defence of our country. We will meet death with pleasure, and give an exemplary proof to those who survive us, that we have acknowledged no other religion than that of Jesus Christ, as it is professed in the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, no other King than Ferdinand VII. and no interests but those of Spain. May God, &c."

Similar feelings and sentiments were expressed at Porte Rico, where on the same day that an order arrived from Spain to proclaim Ferdinand VII. a Lieutenant-Colonel arrived from Napoleon, with orders to proclaim his brother Joseph. That officer was instantly committed to the *Moro*, or state prison, and thus ended the imperial speculation upon the Spanish West Indies; whilst at Vera Cruz, Mexico, and many of the principal places on the South American continent, the populace broke out into open violence and demanded the heads of those who were supposed to be in the French interest.

These unfavourable circumstances did not deter the agents of France from carrying on their intrigues in Europe; accordingly every nerve was strained in Italy, Germany, and Turkey, to foment quarrels and agitate new topics of dispute, to render it necessary that military bodies should be constantly on foot in order that Austria might be kept in constant alarm, and either get involved in a war with some of her immediate neighbours, so as to leave her incapable of casting a look towards France, or to draw her into immediate hostilities with that power, lest she might in time become too strong to be effectually crushed. One of the first results of this new set of intrigues was a revolution at Constantinople, effected by an enterprising Pacha sending the bow-string to the reigning Sultan, and placing his brother on the throne,

with as much *non-chalance* as a decree, *a la Napoleon* tells us that such a Dynasty has "ceased to reign."

Austria was obviously uneasy at the state of things, and under pretence of correcting her military code during a period of peace, was preparing an army *en masse:* whilst the English, who were as anxious to involve her in a war against France, as the French were to draw her into hostilities with some other power, blazoned abroad all her movements, and persuaded the world that either France or Austria, or both conjointly, were about to divide the Turkish empire.

However desirable it might have been to have been saved from the kind offices of either of these officious friends, Austria had good reason to believe that she would be shortly obliged to make her election, and those apprehensions were daily renewed by the commercial restrictions that France was constantly inventing to identify all the nations of Europe with the sinister and barbarous policy which, after the interview at Erfurth, was generally denominated the Continental System.

England had hitherto been enabled, in defiance of all Napoleon's strong measures, to retain a large portion of the continental trade, through the agency of foreign merchants, particularly those of Holland, who could only exist by the profits they gained by exchanging the produce of other countries. Having securely seated his brother Louis upon the throne, the Tyrant was determined to use him as an instrument of introducing from time to time, such regulations as should effectually stop this intercourse, although his own subjects would, eventually, be greater sufferers than the enemy.

The wickedness of those measures was to be traced in the mode of carrying them into effect, more clearly than even in their principle; for,

though they were evidently designed to destroy commerce altogether, and to annihilate the very spirit by which it is maintained, together with the fortunes and prospects of all the persons engaged in it, in order to change mankind into a universal horde of military robbers, to act over again the Goth and Vandal scenes of former times, upon the plausible pretence of that it was necessary to ruin a commercial rival, the whole object was not openly and honourably avowed. An army upon the shores might have closed up the ports at once, and have lessened the calamity of the merchants by barring up the possibility of their engaging in uncertain speculations; but this was not the policy of the imperial theorist; his object was rather to make all trade so vexatious and troublesome, that people might retire from it apparently of their own choice rather than incur the odium of having driven them from it; hence, as often as the merchants had made themselves acquainted with his Decrees, and supposed that they knew the rules under which they might import, or export their goods, new Decrees were promulgated to abrogate the former, and to warrant the confiscation of ships and property employed under them.

At length, as it was discovered, that the desire of living to the last moment, would induce the people to submit to the very worst terms that might be imposed upon them, rather than abandon their prospects and their hopes altogether; a threat was held out that the mask should be thrown off entirely, and accordingly it was whispered about *unofficially*, as is usual when any violent measure is about to be adopted, that in persuance of an agreement with the Emperor Alexander, all the ports from Petersburg to Bayonne would be hermetically sealed against all

commerce whatever. As an overture to this plan brother Louis was obliged to

DECREE.

LOUIS NAPOLEON *by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Kingdom,* KING *of* HOLLAND, *and* CONSTABLE *of* FRANCE, *has decreed and decrees as follows:*

Art. I. The exportation, by sea, of the produce of the kingdom, hitherto permitted to be exported to nuteral ports, is provisionally suspended until further orders.

Art. II. The superintendance of the coast shall be divided into three grand precincts; the first extending from the Helder to the Isle of Walcheren, inclusive; the second from the Helder, inclusive, to Harlingen; and the third from Harlingen to the Jahde, inclusive.

Art. III. The Commanders-in-Chief shall be personally responsible for the execution of the dispositions that relate to the complete shutting of all the ports of the kingdom, and the prevention of all communication with the enemy, and likewise of all that we may hereafter decree. They shall daily transmit a report to our ministers of what relates to their respective departments. They are further authorised to correspond direct with ourselves, in such cases where they have any information of great importance to communicate to us, and particularly to acquaint us with any instances of neglect or backwardness on the part of Civil or Military Agents. The naval and military force shall also be at their disposal, in all that relates to the watching of the coast and ports. The telegraphs are likewise placed immediately under their orders.

Art. IV. Fishing-boats shall be compelled to return to the havens from which they sailed. They shall, upon no consideration, be admitted elsewhere, not even under the pretext of having suffered damage; and wherever any trace shall be discovered of a communication having taken place with the enemy, such as persons being found on board not belonging to the crew, or the smallest package of merchandize, letters, or newspapers, the boat shall become the property of the Civil or Military Authorities who shall have contributed to her seizure, as soon as a decree of seizure is pronounced by the judges, which shall be within 14 days at the farthest.

Art. V. All national or foreign merchantmen entering any of our havens or roads, of any description, shall be warned by a boat to keep off, and that if they do not, they will be fired at. No excuses can be admitted, letters received, or any in-

tercourse entered into with them. Ships of war, and those of friendly nations, are alone excepted.

Art. VI. All decrees, regulations, and other dispositions, heretofore adopted, relative to the shutting of the havens, and the prevention of communication with the enemy, shall remain in full force.

Art. VII. Our Members of Finance, Marine, Colonies, Justice, and Police, are each in his respective department, charged with the execution of the present decree.

Given at our Palace at Utrecht, 13th October, 1808, in the third year of our reign.

(Signed) LODEWYK.

To this edict, which was principally to *suspend* the exportation of produce, was furnished, a pretty clear commentary, in another Decree just previously passed at St. Cloud, which sufficiently indicated the design to prohibit, at no distant season, the *import* of merchandize.

PROHIBITION AGAINST THE INTRODUCTION OF COLONIAL PRODUCE.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Palace of St. Cloud, Sept. 6, 1808.

"Napoleon Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

"On the Report of our Ministers of Finance, our Council of State having been heard, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

Article I. The Introduction of all Colonial Produce coming from Holland and Spain into France is prohibited until further orders.

Art. II. All vessels freighted with such articles, which shall enter the Elbe, the Weser, or the Jade, shall be seized and confiscated.

Art. III. The present Decree is not to contravene that by which we reserved to ourselves the right to allow the importation of cotton wool, under certain circumstances.

Art. IV. Our Minister of Finance is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

His pertinacious adherence to the system of closing up the ports, induced the English to redouble their efforts in the Levant, and along the whole course of the Mediterranean, in the hope of finding a way to the European market through the Austrian states, in the event of the North Sea being effectually shut against them. We shall have occasion to revert to this subject in reviewing the affairs of Austria, we will therefore only anticipate our history so far, as to observe that the watchful Emperor did not overlook this circumstance.

Leaving then this commercial warfare to operate its effects in destroying the resources and crippling the power of Great Britain, and in germinating a spirit of dissention and discord among neutral states, we must proceed in our next chapter to enquire how the Emperor opened the campaign.

CHAPTER IV.

Circumstances—in favour of Buonaparté at the opening of the Campaign.—French Bulletins.—Capture of Burgos.—Abuse of the Spaniards.—Defeat of their Armies.—Flattery bestowed on the Troops of the Confederation.—Eagerness to increase the Miseries of War to the English.—Great Part of the Succours sent from England fall into the Hands of the French.

THE reader will recollect that in our preceding Volume we gave the result of the unfortunate Convention of Cintra. That event had concentrated the whole of the French force in the North of Spain. The English now imposed upon themselves the arduous task of traversing the mountains of Portugal and Spain to meet them; and Sir John Moore, accompanied by Sir David Baird and General Hope, was appointed to the command of the army. That the undertaking was of the most perilous kind, will be anticipated by every one, when it is considered, that all the late commanders of the army, with all the principal officers had been re called to assist in the enquiry, which had been instituted on account of the Convention. The army was in many respects ill provided, the commissariat could not be said to be arranged, the countries through which the troops had to pass were indeed friendly; but, both Portuguese and Spaniards had been so soured at the thoughts of their invaders and tyrants being allowed to escape, and with their plunder too, that they assisted with good will

rather than with cheerfulness. A more fatal circumstance than all the rest was, that the odd sort of jostling which had taken place among the British commanders; the various changes, appointments, and delays, had occasioned so much loss of time, that the Emperor with his usual celerity was ready to pounce upon the allies, by the time that their army was in good marching order. If then, all the valour of the Romanas, the Palafoxs, the O'Donnels, the Blakes, the Venegas, the Castanos, and the long train of Spanish patriots, were unable to recover their northern frontier, the friend of a just cause have good ground to regret that the British army was, by injudicious arrangements, disabled from contributing its courage and its example to a different issue.

As the Emperor expected to close the campaign by the complete accomplishment of his purpose—the complete triumph over his adversaries; he commenced the publication of his Bulletins immediately on his arrival at Bayonne; and as those documents ought to be preserved in this work, we shall open the history of the campaign by their insertion.

FIRST BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Vittoria, Nov. 9, 1808.

POSITION of the French army on the 25th of Oct.—Head quarters at Vittoria.—The Marshal Duke of Cornegliano, with his left wing, along the banks of the Arragon and the Ebro. His head-quarters at Rafalla.—The Marshal Duke of Elchingen is with his head-quarters at Guardia.—The Marshal Duke of Istria has his head-quartes at Miranda, with a garrison in Fort Pancorba.—The General of Division Merlin occupies with one division the heights of Durango, and presses upon the enemy, who seem disposed to attack the heights of Mondragon.—The Marshal Duke of Dantzic having arrived with the divisions of Sebastiani and Laval, the King was pleased to order the division of Merlin to return.—

The enemy being in the mean time in force at Lerin, and having occupied Viana, and several posts on the left bank of the Ebro, the King ordered the Duke of Cornegliano to advance against the enemy. General Walther, commander of the cavalry, and the brigades of Generals Habert, Brune, and Bazout, proceeded against the enemy's posts. On the 27th of October the enemy were defeated at all points. Twelve hundred men, who were surrounded in Lerin, at first shewed a disposition to defend themselves; but General Grandjean having made his arrangements, defeated them completely, making prisoners one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, 40 officers, and 1200 soldiers. These troops formed part of the camp of St. Roque, before Gibraltar. At the same time, Marshal the Duke of Elchingen marched for Logrono, passed the Ebro, took 300 of the enemy prisoners, pursued them several miles, and re-established the bridge of Logrono. In consequence of this event, the Spanish General Pignatelli, who commanded the insurgents, was stoned by them.—The troops of the traitor Romana and the Spanish prisoners in England, landed by the English in Spain, with the divison of Gallicia, making together a force of 30,000 men, threatened from Bilboa, Marshal the Duke of Dantzic, who, led on by a noble ardour, advanced upon them on the 31st of October, and drove them, at the point of the bayonet, from all their positions. The troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, and particularly the corps of Baden, distinguished themselves.—The Marshal Duke of Dantzic closely followed up his pursuit of the enemy, the whole 1st of November, as far as Guenes, and entered Bilboa. In that city very considerable magazines were found. Several Englishmen were made prisoners. The enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, was considerable; but we took very few of them prisoners. Our loss consists of only 50 killed and 100 wounded. However praiseworthy this action was, it was to be wished that it had not taken place; the Spanish corps was in a situation to have been completly cut off.—The corps of Marshal Victor having just arrived, was detached from Vittoria to Orduna. On the 7th of November, the enemy, reinforced by fresh troops from St Andero, occupied the heights of Guenes.

The Marshal Duke of Dantzic advanced against them, and broke through their centre. The 58th and 32d regiments distinguished themselves upon this occasion.—Had these events occurred in the plains, not a man of the enemy would have escaped; but the mountains of St. Andero and Bilboa are almost impassable. The Duke of Dantzic pursued the foe during the whole of the day in the passes of Valmaseda.—In these various affairs, the enemy have lost, in killed and wounded, from 3,500 to 4,000 men.—The Duke of Dantzic

particularly praises the Generals of division Laval and Sebastiani, thd Dutch General Chassey, Colonel Lacoste, of the 27th regiment of the line, and the colonels of the regiments of Baden, and Nassau, upon whom his Majesty has conferred rewards.—The army is abundantly supplied with provisions, and the weather is very fine—Our columns are marching forward, and combining their movements It is supposed that the head-quarters will move forward to night from Vittoria.

SECOND BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Burgos, Nov. 12, 1808.

THE Duke of Dantzic entered Valmaseda, in pursuit of the foe.—On the 8th, General Sebastiani discovered the rear-guard of the insurgents posted upon a high hill to the right of Valmaseda; he immediately advanced against them, defeated them, and took about 100 of them prisoners.—In the meantime, the city of Burgos was occupied by the army of Estremadura, consisting of three divisions. The advanced guard was composed of Walloons and Spanish guards; and the students of the universities of Salamanca and Leon, divided into several battalions, and some regiments of the line, with other corps raised since the insurrection of Badajos, made the whole of the army amount to little short of 20,000 men. The command of the cavalry of the army was given to Marshal the Duke of Istria; and the Emperor confined the command of the second corps to Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia. —On the 10th, at day-break, the latter marshal marched at the head of the division of Mouton, to reconnoitre the enemy. On reaching Gamonal, he was received with the discharge of thirty pieces of artillery. This was the signal for advancing at the *pas de charge*; the infantry of the division of Mouton attacked them, supported by the artillery. The Walloons and Spanish guards were defeated at the first outset. The Duke of Istria, at the head of his cavalry, attacked them in flank. The enemy were completely routed; 3,000 of them being left dead on the field. We took twelve pair of colours, twenty-five pieces of cannon, and 3,000 prisoners. The remainder were completely dispersed. Our troops entered the city of Burgos intermixed with the enemy, and the cavalry pursued them in all directions.—This army of Estremadura, which had come from Madrid by forced marches, whose first enterprise was the assassination of their unfortunate general Count Torres, and which was completely equipped with English arms, besides being in the pay of England, is no longer in existence. The Colonel of the Walloon guards, and a considerable number of the superior officers, are prisoners. Our

loss was very inconsiderable, consisting only of 12 or 15 killed, and at most 50 wounded; only one captain was killed by a cannon ball.—This affair, which we owe to the excellent dispositions of the Duke of Dalmatia, and the intrepidity with which the Duke of Istria led on the cavalry, does the greatest honour to the division of Mouton; though it is well known that this division consist of corps whose name alone has for a long time been a title of honour. The castle of Burgos has been occupied, and was found in good condition; it contained considerable quanties of flour, wine, and grain.—On the 11th the Emperor reviewed the division of General Bonnet, and immediately detached it towards the entrance of the passes of St. Andero.—The position of the army, this day, is as follows.—The Marshal Duke of Belluna is in close pursuit of the remains of the army of Gallicia, who are flying in the direction of Villarcayo and Reynosa, towards which points the Duke of Dalmatia is also marching. They can have no other resourse than that of dispersing in the mountains, with the loss of artillery, baggage, and every thing that constitutes an army.

THIRD BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Burgos, Nov. 13, 1808.

THE army of Gallicia, which fled from Bilboa, is pursued by the Marshal Duke of Belluno, in the direction of Espinosa; by the Marshal Duke of Dantzic, in the direction of Villarcayo; and at Reynosa is surrounded by the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia. Important events must take place in that quarter.—General Milhaut, with his division of cavalry, has entered Palencia, and has sent off detachments towards the outlets of Reynosa, in pursuit of the park of artillery of the army of Gallicia.—The young students of Salamanca, who thought to accomplish the conquest of France, the fanatical peasants, who already dreamed of plundering Bayonne and Bourdeaux, and imagined themselves led on by all the saints, being misled by the treacherous monks, are disposed of their foolish fancies. Their despair and dismay are at their height. They deplore the misfortunes of which they are become the prey, the lies which they have been made to believe, and the struggle, without an object, in which they are involved.—The whole plain of Castille is already overspread by our cavalry. The zeal and ardour of our troops enable them to perform journies of fourteen or fifteen miles a day. Our picquets are on the Duero. The whole coast of St. Andero and Bilboa completely swept of the enemy.—The unfortunate city of

Burgos, a prey to all the miseries of a town taken by storm, trembles with dismay. Priests, monks, inhabitants, fled upon first news of the battle; terrified lest the soldiers of the army of Estremadura should attempt to defend themselves in the houses, which resolution they probably made known beforehand; first plundered by these, and afterwards by our soldiers, who entered the houses, in order to drive out their enemies, and found there no inhabitants.—Such men as M. Von Steine, who from want of troops of the line, which our eagles could not oppose, form to themselves the exalted idea of raising the people in a mass, have become witnesses of the misfortunes which they have brought upon themselves, and of the small obstacles which such auxiliaries can oppose to regular troops.—At Burgos and in its neighbourhood, wool to the value of thirty millions has been found, which his Majesty has caused to be sequestrated. All of it that belongs to the monks, and to those persons that have formed a part of the insursection, shall be declared forfeited, and shall be first set apart for the indemnification of the French, for the losses which they have sustained; for in the city of Madrid, Frenchmen, who had been settled there even for forty years, have been robbed of every thing, and the Spaniards who were true to their King have been declared emigrants. The property of Aranza, a most virtuous and intelligent minister; of Masseredo, a most experienced seaman; of O'Farril, the best soldier in Spain, has been exposed to public sale. The property of Campo Alanje, respectable for his virtues, his rank, and his fortune, the proprietor of 60,000 Merinos, and of three millions of income, has been the prey of these infuriated men. Another measure determined upon by the Emperor, is the confiscation of all the goods of English manufacture, and of all the colonial produce which has been disloaded in Spain since the period of the insurrection. The merchants of London have thus done very well in sending their goods to Lisbon, to Oporto, and to the Spanish ports. The more they shall send, the greater will be the contributions which they will pay us.—The city of Palencia, governed by a worthy bishop, has received our troops with affection. That city suffers none of the miseries of war. An honest bishop, who animated by Christian charity, fulfils the precepts of the Gospel, and from whose lips nothing but honey distils, is the greatest blessing which Heaven confers upon man. An intemperate, odious, and infurated bishop who preaches up nothing but rebellion, uproar, disorder, and war, is a curse whom God in his anger gives to mankind, to mislead them in the very source of morality itself.—There is a great number of monks confined in the prisons of Burgos. The peasants throw stones at them.—"Wretches!" said they to

them: "It is you who have plunged us into this abyss of miseries. Perhaps we shall never again behold our unfortunate wives, our dear children. Wretches! a just God will punish you in Hell for all the miseries which you have caused to our families, and our native country."

FOURTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Burgos, Nov. 15, 1808.

YESTERDAY his Majesty reviewed the division of Marchand, filled up the vacancies with the most deserving officers, and distributed rewards to the soldiers who had distinguished themselves. His Majesty is extremely well satisfied with those troops who have cheerfully marched, without halting, from the Banks of the Vistula.—The Duke of Elchingen has marched from Burgos. This morning his Majesty reviewed his guards on the plains of Burgos. His Majesty afterwards inspected the division of Dessolles, and made appointments to all the vacancies in that division. Important events are at hand; all the troops are in motion. Nothing can be done in war without following a well concerted plan. Among the prisoners there were some who had engraved on their buttons a fallen eagle, pierced by two arrows, with the inscription—"To the conqueror of France." In this ridiculous gasconade the countrymen of Don Quixote may be regonized.—Worse troops cannot be found, whether employed on the mountains or in the plains. Clownishly ignorant, foolishly obstinate, cruel towards the weak, mean and cowardly towards the strong. Such is the spectacle they exhibit to us. The monks and the inquisition have bewildered this nation.—Ten thousand light cavalry and dragoons, with 24 pieces of cannon, marched on the 11th, to fall upon the rear of the English, division, which was said to be at Valladolid. These brave troops advanced 34 miles in two days, but our expectations were frustrated. We have entered Palencia and Valladolid, and have pushed on six miles further—still none of the English, but prospects and assurance of finding them—In the meantime, it appears certain, that a division of their troops have been disembarked at Corruna, and that another division entered Badajos in the beginning of this month. The day on which we shall meet them, will be a festival for the French army. May their blood dye that Continent which they have desolated by their intrigues, their monopoly, and their horrible selfishness. Would they were, instead of 20,000, 80 or 100,000 strong, then would the English mothers learn what

are the miseries of war, and the English government would no longer continue to sport with the blood and the lives of the peopel of the Continent! The greatest falsehoods, the basest means, are practised by English Machiavelism, to mislead the nation; but the great body of the people is good; Biscay, Navarre, Old Castile, and even the greatest part of Arragon, are animated by an excellent spirit. The nation in general views with profound sorrow the abyss into which it has been endeavoured to plunge it, and will therefore curse the cause of so many evils.—Florida Blanca, who was at the head of the insurgents, is the same who was minister under Charles the Third: he has always been the sworn enemy of France, and a zealous partizan of England.. It is to be hoped that in his last days he will acknowledge the errors of his political life. He is an old man, who, to the blindness attachment to England, joins the most unbounded religious superstition. His confidents and friends are fanatics and stupid monks.—Tranquillity is restored in Burgos and its environs. The first moment of fury has been succeeded by confidence. The peasants have returned to their villages and resumed their labours.—His Majesty the Emperor is with his guard at Burgos.—General Milhaud is marching with his division upon Palencia. General Lasalles has taken possession of Lerma. —Thus, in an instant, have the armies of Gallicia been defeated, dispersed, and partly annihilated, notwithstanding that all the corps of our army have not yet come up. Three-fourths of the cavalry, and almost one half of the infantry, remain behind.—The army of the insurgents exhibited the most singular contrast. In the pockets of the officers who were killed were found lists of companies, having some of them the name of Company of Brutus, and some of them Company of the people. There were companies of students, and others that had the names of saints. Such were the military bands that composed the insurgent army of the peasants. Anarchy and confusion—these were what England sowed in Spain. What will she reap from them? The hatred of this brave people, when they are once enlightened, and under a good government; for the rest, the extravagance of the leaders of the insurgents is every where notorious.—Among the standards that have fallen into our hands are some bearing a representation of the lion of Spain tearing in pieces the imperial eagle. And who are they that have indulged in such emblemes? The worst troops that are in Europe.—The cavalry of the army of Estramadura could not even so much as face us. The instant the 10th regiment of chasseurs came in sight of them, they were put to the rout, and were no longer to be seen.—The Emperor reviewed the corps of the Duke of Dal-

matia previous to its marching from Burgos in pursuit of the rear of the army of Gallicia. His Majesty has made various promotions, distributed rewards, and is extremely well satisfied with the conduct of these troops. He has expressed his satisfaction to the conquerors of Medina, Rio Seco, and Burgos, the Marshal Duke of Istria, and Generals Merle and Mouton.

FIFTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,,

Burgos, Nov. 16. 1808.

THE fate of the army of Estremadura has been decided on the plains of Burgos. The Gallician army, beaten in the battles of Durango, Guenes, and Valmaseda, has been dispersed in the Battle of Espinosa. This army was composed of the ancient Spanish troops which were in Portugal and Gallicia, and which quitted Porto towards the end of June, the militia of Gallicia, Asturias, and Old Castile, of 5,000 Spanish prisoners, which the English had clothed and armed at their expence, and disembarked at St. Andero, of the volunteers of Gallicia, &c. of the regiments of artillery, and of the troops which the traitor Romana had carried away from the north. This army had the presumption to attempt cuting off our communication with Biscay. For ten days it was driven from post to post; at lest, on the 10th of November, it arrived at Espinosa, where, in order to save its artillery, magazines, &c. it formed in order of battle, as it believed, in a situation not to be forced. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Marshall Belluno, arrived in front of the enemy; General Paethod was ordered to carry a small battery occupied by the troops of the traitor Romana. This position was excellent, and defended by their best tooops, but General Paethod, with his corps, fell upon these troops who had abused our confidence, and broken their oaths. In an instant they were broken, and precipitated down the precipices. The Princess's regiment was destroyed. The enemy made several attacks, in all of which they were defeated. During the night both armies remained in their positions.—Whilst this was taking place, the Duke of Dalmatia marched towards Reynosa, the only retreat of the enemy. At break of day the enemy were attacked, both on the right and left, by the Dukes of Dantzic and Belluno, while General Maison advanced against his centre; the enemy fled, throwing away his arms and colours, and abandoning his artillery. The Duke of Dantzic took at Reynosa their artillery, magazines, and baggage, and made

some prisoners. Thus the enemy have been turned not only in Reynosa, but at Palencia; 60 pieces of cannon have been taken, 20,000 men killed or prisoners; two Spanish generals killed. All the succours in arms, &c. sent by the English, have fallen into our hands. Blake saved himself by taking to the Austurian mountains. Romana, with a few thousand men, is marching towards St. Andero. Our loss is trifling in these combats, not exceeding 80 killed, and 300 wounded.—We have not losst any officer of distinction.

If the times in which these events happened had been in any thing like a natural state, the Emperor would not have indulged so much parade in displaying the mere auxilliary losses of an enemy —related as the English were to the Spaniards. To have talked to his subjects of the sacrifices made by such an enemy, to succour and sustain a people gallantly struggling to maintain their independence, would, in that case, have been to excite feelings of pity and compassion for that enemy, and to have held him up as an object of admiration and esteem. Buonaparté knew better what he could do in France; for before he put his system into operation he had so completely annihilated the faculties—all the free agency of the human soul, that he could command what he pleased to be believed, and in general was regardless of consequences.

CAAPTER V.

Listlessness of the Spaniards.—Further Progress of the French.—Battle of Tudela.—Acrimonious complaints against the English.—Injustice of Charging England with the Calamities of the War.—An American Witness.—The French proceed towards Madrid.

THE rapidity of these and subsequent movements, and their importance on account of the positions they were designed to secure, can hardly be comprehended without a pretty frequent reference to a map on a tolerably large scale; furnished with the information so obtained, the reader might imagine himself very decently qualified to enter into competition, in point of technical science, with many generals, that during this war, have *played* at fighting Buonaparté. Most of them seem to have been ignorant, not only of the resources of their enemy and of their own, but even of the country and the ground they occupied. That there was no grand and imposing army in Spain, to command terror and respect from the enemy, by its numbers and power, is accounted for in the policy that resolved upon keeping up a system of harrassing warfare in small parties; but how the contrivers of this policy could have been so improvident as to have continued in the constant habit of leaving large masses of property and provision in situations immediately within his reach, it is impossible to account, and yet it should seem that he has obtained his means of annoyance principally in that way.

SIXTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Burgos, Nov. 18. 1808.

OF the 40,000 men who composed the army of Gallicia, part has been killed and taken, and the rest is dispersed. The remains arrive daily at our posts. The General of division Debelle has taken 500 prisoners in the environs of Vasconcelles.—Col. Taschen, who commands the first regiment of chasseurs, attacked the escort of the Spanish General Acevedo; the troops who composed the escort having made some resistance, they were all put to the sword.—General Bonnett, with his division, fell in with the head of a column of fugitives, consisting of 2,000 men; they were partly taken and partly destroyed.—The Marshal Duke of Istria, who commands the cavalry of the army, entered Aranda on the 16th at noon: our advanced parties of horse go on the left as far as Soria and Madrid, and on the right to Leon and Kamora.—The enemy evacuated Aranda with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon. A considerable magazine of biscuit, 40,000 quintals of grain, and a large quantity of clothing, were found in that town.—At Reynosa numerous English effects were found, and a considerable quantity of provisions of every description.—The inhabitants of Montana, and of the whole plain of Castile, which extends to Portugal, and of the province of Leon, detest and curse the authors of this war, and earnestly demanded peace and repose: 20,000 bales of wool, worth 15 to 20 millions, which were seized in Burgos, have been sent to Bayonne.

SEVENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Burgos, Nov. 20, 1808.

BY the 16th the van of the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia entered St. Andero, and found there a large quantity of flour, ammunition, and British goods. The bishop of St. Andero, animated rather with the spirit of the devil than that of the gospel, is always marching with a cutlass by his side; he has taken shelter on board the English frigates. The cavalry of General Lasalle has pushed its advanced posts as far as Sorne Sierra. The regiments of Zamora, and of the Princessa, which formed part of Romana's division, are almost intirely annihilated. Some Spanish officers, of the regiments of Zamora and Princessa, who were in the north, and who escaped from Zamora, were made prisoners. "You took

an oath of allegiance to the King," said some one to them: they acknowledged they did. "You have violated your oath." "We only acted in obedience to our general." "You formed a part of the French army, and you recompensed the kindest treatment by the most infamous treachery." They again replied: "That they were under the orders of their general, and that they had only obeyed him." "You might have been disarmed," it was observed, "and perhaps that measure ought to have been adopted: but reliance was placed on your oaths. It is more to the glory of the Emperor to have to fight you, than to have been induced to a step which might have been censured for too much mistrust. You are no longer protected by the laws of nations, which you have violated. You ought to be put to the sword. The Emperor condescends to pardon you a second time." For the rest, the regiments of Zamora and Princessa have suffered most severely: very few of them left with their colours.

EIGHTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Burgos, Nov. 22, 1808.

THE Duke of Dalmatia is following his successes with the utmost activity. A convoy of artillery, ammunition, and English muskets was taken in the port of Cunillar, the very moment the ships were on the point of getting under weigh. General Surrat, at the head of his brigade, continues vigorously to pursue the enemy. He has passed Montuna, and entered Asturia. The light companies of the 36th regiment have seized, in the port of Santillana, an English convoy, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, and other colonial commodities. The number of English vessels, richly laden, which have been taken on this coast, amounts, already, to twenty-five. The 7th corps of the army of Spain commanded by General Gouvion, St. Cyr, has also begun preparations. On the 6th of November, the place of Rosas was invested by Generals Reille and Peno, and the heights of St. Pedro were carried by the Italians. A large number of Miquelets and English occupied the port of Silva; they were attacked by General Fontana, at the head of three battalions of light infantry, and dashed into the sea, with the loss of ten 24-pounders, four of which were English, which they had not time to embark. On the 8th, the garrison of Rosas made a sortie in three columns, protected by the guns of the English ships. General Marechelli killed 600 of them, and repulsed the rest. It is supposed, that the head quarters will be removed from Burgos in the course of the night.

NINTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Aranda, Nov. 25, 1808.

THE military system seems to have been as follows:—On the left was the army of Gallicia, one moiety of which was composed of troops of the line, and of all the resources of Gallicia, Asturia, and Leon. In the centre was the army of Estremadura, which the English corps had promised to support, and which was composed of all the resources of Estremadura, and the neighbouring provinces. The army of Andalusia, Valentia, New Castile, and Arragon, stated to amount to 80,000 men, occupied, on the 20th of November, Calahoria, Tudela, and the borders of Arragon. This army supported the right of the enemy, and was composed of the troops who formed the camp of St. Roch, and of the whole force of Andalusia, Valentia, Carthagena, and Madrid. It is against this army the French troops are now manœuvring: the rest having been dispersed and destroyed in the battles of Espinos and Burgos.—The head-quarters were removed on the 22nd from Burgos to Lerma, and on the 23rd from Lerma to Aranda.—The Duke of Elchingen marched on the 22nd to Soria; the town was disarmed; and a committee of well-disposed persons appointed for the administration of the province. The Duke is now in Medina Celi, and his light troops scour the road from Saragossa to Madrid.—On the 22nd the Dukes of Montebello and Cornegliano formed a junction near the bridge of Lodosa.—On the 24th the Duke of Belluno removed his head-quarters to Vente Gornez. Almost all the roads of communication between Madrid and the northern provinces are intercepted by our troops, whose light parties have picked up a great number of couriers and mails.—The utmost confusion seems to prevail in Madrid, and the whole nation anxiously desires the restoration of that tranquillity and peace, of which Spain has been deprived by the puerile arrogance and criminal cunning of a few intriguers.—It appears difficult for any army which forms the right of the enemy, and is now on the banks of the Ebro, to fall back on Madrid, and the South of Spain.—The events which are now preparing will probably decide the fate of this other moiety of the Spanish army.—For these three days we have had damp and hazy weather. This season is more hurtful to the natives of the country than to men accustomed to the climate of the North.—General Gouvion St. Cyr continues vigorously to push on the siege of Rosas.

TENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Aranda de Duero, Nov. 26, 1808.

It appears that the Spanish forces amount to 180,000 effective men.—80,000 effective men, making 60,000 men under arms, who composed the armies of Gallicia and Estremadura, and were commanded by Blake, La Romana, and Galuzzo, have been dispersed and put *hors de combat*. The army of Andalusia, Valencia, New Castile, and Arragon, commanded by Castanos, Pena, and Palafox, and which likewise appeared to amount to 80,000 men, that is, to 60,000 under arms, will in a few days, meet its fate.—The Marshal Duke of Montebello has received orders to attack it in front, with 30,000 men, while the Dukes of Elchingen and Belluno are already posted on its rear.—The remaining 60,000 effective men may amount to 40,000 under arms, 30,000 of whom are in Catalonia, and 10,000 at Madrid, at Valencia, and in other garrison towns, or in motion.—Before he proceeded a step beyond the Duero, the Emperor resolved to annihilate the armies of the centre and left, and to inflict a similar fate on that of General Castanos on the right.—That plan once executed, the march to Madrid will be but a promenade. This grand design must, before the present moment, have been accomplished. With respect to the corps of Catalonia, which is composed, in a great measure, of the troops of Valencia, Murcia, and Grenada, these provinces being threatened, will withdraw their troops, that is, if the state of the communications will permit. At any rate, the 7th corps, after the conclusion of the siege of Rosas, will give a good account of them.—At Barcelona, General Duhesime, with 15,000 men, and supplies for six months, answers for that important place.—We have said nothing of the English forces. It seems that one division is in Gallicia, and that another made its appearance at Badajoz, about the end of last month. If the English have any cavalry, we must have perceived it; for our light troops have almost reached the frontiers of Portugal. If they have infantry, they probably have no intention to employ it in behalf of their allies; for it is now thirty days since the campaign was opened; three large armies have been destroyed; an immense quantity of artillery is taken; the provinces of Castile, La Montano, Arragon, Soria, &c. are conquered; in a word, the fate of Spain and Portugal is decided, and nothing is heard of any movements of the English troops.—At the same time, one-half of the French army is not yet arrived. Part of the 4th corps of the army, the whole of the 5th and 8th

corps, six regiments of light cavalry, many companies of artillery and sappers, and a great number of men belonging to the regiments which are in Spain, have not yet passed the Bidassoa.—In truth, and without doing injustice to the bravery of our soldiers, it may be asserted that there cannot be worse troops than the Spanish. Like the Arabs, they can lurk behind houses, but they have no discipline, no knowledge of manœuvres, and it is impossible for them to make any resistance in a field of battle.

The very mountains have afforded them but a feeble protection. But thanks to the power of the inquisition, the influence of the monks, their dexterity to seize all pens, and to make them speak all languages, it is still believed, throughout great part of Spain, that Blake has been victorious, that the French army has been destroyed, and the imperial guard taken. Whatever may be the momentary success of these wretched shifts, and of these ridiculous efforts, the reign of the inquisition is over; its revolutionary tribunals will no longer harrass any country in Europe; in Spain as at Rome, the inquisition shall be abolished, and the horrid spectacle of *auto-da fes* shall never again be repeated. This reform shall be effected in spite of the religious zeal of the English, in spite of the alliance which they have formed with the monkish impostors, who have given our Lady del Pilar and the saints of Valladolid the power of speech. England has for her allies, exclusive monopoly, the inquisition, and the Franciscans: all are alike to her, if she can but sow discord among nations, and deluge the continent with blood.—An English brig, the Ferret, which left Portsmouth the 11th of this month, came to an anchor on the 22d, in the port of St. Andero, not knowing that the place was in the occupation of the French. She had on board important dispatches, and a great quantity of English papers, which were secured.—At St. Andero were found great quantities af Jesuit's bark and colonial produce, which were sent to Bayonne.—The Duke of Dalmatia has entered the Asturias. Several towns and many villages have begged to submit, in order to avoid falling into the abyss dug for them by the counsels of foreigners, and by the passions of the multitude.

ELEVENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Aranda de Duero, Nov. 27. 1808.

HIS Majesty on the 19th sent off the Marshal Duke of Montebello with instructions for the movements of the left, of which he gave him the command.—The Duke of Montebello and the Duke of Cornegliano concerted measures together at

Lodosa, on the 20th, for the execution of the orders of his Majesty.—On the 21st, the division of General Lagrange, with the brigade of light cavalry of General Colbert, and the brigade of dragoons of General Dijon, set out from Lagrogno, by the right of the Ebro. At the same time the four divisions, composing the corps of the Duke of Cornegliano, passed the river at Lodosa, abandoning the whole country between the Ebro and Pampeluna.—On the 22d, at the break of day, the French army began its march. It took its direction to Calahorra, where, on the evening before, were the head-quarters of Castanos; it found that town evacuated, and afterwards, marched upon Alfaro; the enemy had in like manner retreated.—On the 23d, at break at day, the General of Division, Lefebvre, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by the division of General Morlat, forming the advanced guard, met with the enemy. He immediately gave information to the Duke of Montebello, who found the army of the enemy in seven divisions, consisting to 45,000 men, under arms, with its right before Tudela, and its left occupying a line of a league and a half; a disposition absolutely bad. The Arragonese were on the right, the troops of Valencia and New Castile in the centre, and the three divisions of Andalusia, which General Castanos commanded more especially formed the left. Forty pieces of cannon covered the enemy's line.—At nine in the morning the columns of the French army, began to deploy, with that order, that regularity and coolness, which characterise veteran troops: situations were chosen for establishing batteries with sixty pieces of cannon, but the impetuosity of the troops, and the inquietude of the enemy, did not allow time for this. The Spaniards where already vanquished by the order and movements of the French army.—The Duke of Montebello caused the centre to be pierced by the division of General Maurice Matthieu; the General of Division Lefebvre, with his cavalry, immediately passed on the trot through this opening, and enveloped, by a quarter wheel to the left, the whole right of the enemy. The moment when half of the enemy's line found itself thus turned and defeated, was that in which General Lagrange attacked the village of Cascante, where the line of Castanos was placed, which did not exhibit a better countenance than the right, but abandoned the field of battle, leaving behind it its artillery, and a great number of prisoners. The cavalry pursued the remains of the enemy's army to Mallah, in the direction of Saragossa, and to Tarragona, in the direction of Agreda. Seven standards, thirty pieces of cannon, with all their furniture, 12 colonels, 300, officers, and 3,000 men have been taken; 4,000 Spaniards have been left dead on the field of battle, or have

been driven into the Ebro. Our loss has been trifling, we have had 60 men killed and 400 wounded; among the latter is the General of Division Lagrange, who has received a bullet in the arm.—Our troops found at Tudela a number of magazines.—The Marshal Duke of Cornegliano has begun his march upon Saragossa.—While a part of the fugitives retired to this place, the left, which had been cut off, fled in disorder to Tarracona and Agreda.—The Duke of Elchingen, who was on the 22d at Soria, ought to have been on the 23d at Agreda; not a man would have escaped but this corps being too much fatigued, remained at Soria the 23d and 24th. He arrived at Agreda on the 25th, still sufficiently in time to seize a great number of magazines.—One named Palafox, formerly a *garde du corps*, a man without talents, and without courage, a kind of insignificant monks the true head of a party, which acquired him the name of general, was the first to take flight. This is not the first time he has acted in that manner; he has done the same on all occasions. —This army of 45,000 has been thus beaten and defeated, without our having had more that 6,000 men engaged.—The battle of Burgos had struck the centre of the enemy, and the battle of Espinosa the right; the battle of Tudela has struck the left; victory has thus struck, as with a thunderbolt, and dispersed the whole league of the enemy.

TWELFTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Aranda de Duero, Nov. 28, 1808.

AT the battle of Tudela, the General of Division, Lagrange, charged with the attack of Cascante, ordered his division to march by *echellon*, and put himself at the head of the first division, composed of the 25th regiment of light infantry, which fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that 200 Spaniards were killed in the first charge of the bayonet. The other *echellons* could not come up. This singular intrepidity spread consternation and disorder among the troops of Castanos. It was at this moment that General Lagrange, who was at the head of the first *echellon*, received a ball, which wounded him dangerously.—On the 26th the Duke of Elchingen advanced by Tarracona to Borja. The enemy destroyed sixty tumbrils which they had at Tarracona.—General Maurice Matthieu arrived, on the 25th, at Borja, pursuing the enemy, and every moment taken fresh prisoners, the number of which already amounts to 5,000, they are all troops of the line. No quarter was given to any of the peasants who were found in arms. We took 37 pieces of cannon. Disorder and delirium have seized upon their leaders,

Their first proceeding was a violent manifesto, in which they declared war against France. They imputed to her all the disorders of their court, the degeneracy of the race which reigned, and the baseness of the great, who, for many years, have prostrated themselves in the most abject manner at the feet of the idol which they load with all their rage, now he is fallen. They have very false ideas in Germany, Italy, and France, of Spanish monks, if they compare them to those which exist in these countries. We find among the Benedictines, the Bernardins, &c. in France and Italy, a crowd of men remarkable in sciences and literature; they distinguished themselves by their education, and by the honourable and useful class to which they belong. The Spanish monks, on the contrary, are drawn from the dregs of the people; they are ignorant and drunken, and can only be compared to people employed in slaughter-houses. They are illiterate, and have the very manner and appearance of it—it is only over the lowest classes that they have any influence.—A citizen would think himself dishonoured in admitting a monk to his table. As to the unfortunate Spanish peasants we can only compare them to the Fellahs of Egypt; they have no property—every thing belongs to the monks, or to some powerful house. The liberty to keep an inn is a feudal right; yet in a country so favoured by nature, we find neither posts nor inns. The taxes even are alienated, and belong to the lords. The great have degenerated to such a degree, that they are without energy, without merit, and even without influence. We every day find at Valladolid, and beyond it, considerable magazines of arms. The English faithfully executed that part of their engagement; they provided muskets, poinards, and libels; these they have sent in profusion: their inventive spirit has been signalized, and they have carried to a great length the art of spreading libels, as of late they have distinguished themselves by their fire-rockets. All the evils, all the scourges which can afflict mankind, come from London.

Here it may not be amiss to pause a moment just to appeal to the candour of the reader as to the truth of the concluding position, and if he should happen to be an admirer of our all-conquering Hero, to ask him whether those "evils" and "scourges" pretended to be of London manufacture, might nothave been excluded from the continent as easily as any other article of British commerce, if this *soi disant* caterer of continen-

tal comforts could have kept himself quietly at home in Paris.

The same sort of cant has been repeated from year to year, whether Robespierre, Barras, or Buonapartè reigned; all their villainies have been glossed over by these foolish and groundless charges against the English; but it is right that posterity should hear how the sufferers think upon the subject. The English in no way promoted the seige of Sarragossa, of Rosas, of Gerona, of Madrid, nor of Tarragona; and yet the inhabitants of those places were at the moment when the Bulletin was penning, on their knees, crying up to heaven for vengence on the perfidious assailant, who had laid their habitations in ruins and deluged their cities with blood.

We will not talk of some fatal star that may be supposed to rule over our times, but surely some fatal delusion must rule over us, or it would be impossible that such gross and impudent deceptions could be found useful to this man. The believers in Buonaparté surpass in credulity, every description of believers that has preceded them, for they not only believe against evidence but they must shut their eyes lest evidence should flash upon them, otherwise it is not possible that a single partizan could be found in any country, for a man who is endeavouring to erect a system upon a falshood so palpable as the foregoing position. Impartial posterity will require nothing more than the succeeding Bulletin to enable it to discover this hypocritical Charletan, as the author of all the "evils," as the bearer of all the "scourges," amongst a peaceble people, and this without the smallest provocation from the persons suffering under them, or the smallest necessity arising out of the causes to which he artfully endeavours to attribute them.

The thirteenth Bulletin states that the Polish

light horse and the Spanish army of reserve, that is to say, the inhabitants of the Vistula and the Ebro, were brought together to cut each other to pieces, and we are to be persuaded that this was necessary to frustrate some projects of the court of London; but what interest, it may be asked, had either of these poor people in the discomfiture or success of the court of London. He was the author of their miseries who involved them in a contest by which they could not be benefited.—The Poles indeed were the favourites, and therefore *only eight* of them were killed—this is good; yet it does so happen that a few thousands of them are called for afresh every year. Only eight of them were killed, however, because the Bulletin says so; but, it must be observed, the number of Spaniards made up amply for that of the Poles;—they, the Bulletin says, "cannons, flags, muskets, soldiers, *all were cut to pieces;*" and, they upon looking at the Bulletin were 13,000 men. Now why were these thirteen thousand men cut to pieces? the next line tells us their fault, "they defended the passage of the mountains," that is, they refused to surrender up their sheep, and their wool, and their lands, and their mules, to a band of strange and unexpected robbers; and having artlessly reposed a misplaced confidence in the good faith of their neighbours were butchered because they were "not disciplined" to prepare them for such an attack.

It was the first law of nature that stimulated these people to defend their dwellings and their all; and "the inventive spirit of the English" had no more to do with it than it had in defending the strait of Thermopyle: it was in both instances simple nature at war with unblushing tyranny; and the whining impostor, who affected to deplore the disordered state of Madrid, could have allayed all the disquietude of the people,

would have removed all the barricadoes from the doors, if he could have been just honest enough to have turned his men and horses with their faces towards the north.

Of the disinterested spirit in which the British nation afforded its aid to the Spanish patriots, an American writer, who published his observations at Philadelphia, in 1810, has given a most honourable testimony, and as he could be under no bias in favour of either England or France, but the evidence of facts upon his own judgment, we must consider his opinions to be more correct than those of the Bulletin writer.

"I was in England," says that gentleman, "at the commencement of the Spanish struggle, and witnessed the progress of public sentiment on this subject,—not only in the capital, but in almost every part of the country. Never did any nation exhibit a more sublime and edifying spectacle, or an elevation of character so perfectly co-ordinate with the lofty eminence on which she was placed by this unexpected event. Whatever calculations of interest may have been indulged in the councils of the ministry,—and with them, they were, I believe altogether secondary,—none were to be discovered in the spontaneous soaring and eager compassion of the mass of the nation. Indignation at the unparalleled wrongs,—sympathy for the cruel sufferings of the Spaniards,—alone animated every class of this generous and high-minded people, and called forth an enthusiasm not less ardent, than if they themselves had been the victims. Queen Elizabeth and her subjects did not feel or display a more lively resentment, when the courts of France and Spain conspired at Bayonne to assail her dominions and subvert her throne, than did the English of the present day, at the similar projects concerted in the same city against Spain,—so long the willing instrument

of the schemes projected for their own destruction.

" On the arrival of the first deputies from Asturias, the country was thrown into an absolute delirium of hope and joy,—not on account of any advantages which might accrue to England from the incipient struggle,—but because from the deepest obscurity of the gloom that overspread the continent, a ray of light had broke forth, which promised to illuminate the whole political horizon;—and because a prospect was at length afforded of avenging the rights of justice and humanity, on the very theatre where they had been most shamefully violated and abused. In the whole course of this national emotion, there was something cheering and ennobling for those who still value the dignity of our species, and eminently consolatory for one like myself, who, having seen but the present state of mankind, might have regarded the cases which history records, of the heroic devotion of states, as mere fabulous declamation, or admired the models which she presents, only in the light of a philosophical romance.

" There are various instances in the annals of the world, of nations oppressed either by foreign or domestic foes, claiming relief from the magnanimity of a powerful people; and in those of England herself, the most remarkable, perhaps, are to be found:—When Elizabeth, called upon to assert the laws of justice, and with subjects clamorous for the gratuitous interference of her power, exerted it to secure the independence of Holland, and to rescue the Netherlands from the desolating tyranny of the Duke of Alva:—When William, become the sole refuge of the North of Europe and seconded by the generous sympathies and enlarged wisdom of his people, frustrated the ambitious projects of France, and rendered England, according to the expression of

Mr. Burke, the arbitress of Europe, and the tutelary angel of the human race. But whatever may have been her elevation at those periods, the attitude in which she stood, when Spain first implored succour from her generosity, was infinitely more grand and imposing, than any in which her own annals or those of the world exhibit any nation whatever. The nature of the contest which she has so long waged—the melancholy condition of the continent —The relation in which Spain before stood in her regard—the cruel wrongs and the miserable weakness of the suppliants—the importance of the ends to be achieved by the successful exertion of her strength—all gave an interest to this conjuncture, which no posture of human affairs, or vicissitude of fortune, was ever before calculated to inspire. Both the government and the people corresponded, by the exuberance of their succours, to the liberal and disinterested zeal, with which they embraced the Spanish cause, and completed a picture, upon which mankind will hereafter love to dwell. I saw the effects which it produced upon the deputies, who were welcomed as if they had been deliverers not suppliants. They frequently shed tears of gratitude and joy, and appeared to be equally overpowered by the nature of their reception, and by the contemplation of that unrivalled scene of public and individual felicity,—that vigor and independence of mind,—and those moral and political institutions—which place England so far above every other European country in the scale of excellence."

This having been the conduct of the mis-called enemy of Spain, let us proceed to examine that of her pretended friend, who we shall now find marching towards the capital.

CHAPTER VI.

Capture of Madrid.—Violent Reproaches against Morla.—The Duke del Infantado, &c.—Ruse de guerre practised upon a Spanish General.—Incredulity in England.—French Arguments irresistible.—Change in the Spanish Disposition towards the English.—Mutual Contempt.

THIRTEENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

St. Martin's, near Madrid, Dec. 2. 1808.

ON the 29th ult. the head-quarters of the Emperor were removed to the village of Bouzealas; on the 30th, at break of day, the Duke of Belluno presented himself at the foot of the Somo Sierra; a division of 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve defended the passage of the mountains.—The enemy thought themselves unattackable in that position. They had entrenched the narrow passage, called Puerto, with sixteen pieces of cannon. The 9th light infantry marched upon the right; the 96th upon the causeway; and the 24th followed by the side of the heights on the left. General Senarmont, with six pieces of artillery, advanced by the causeway. The action commenced by the firing of musquetry and cannon.—A charge made by the General Montbrun, at the head of the Polish light horse, decided the affair, it was a most brilliant one, and the regiment covered itself with glory, and proved it was worthy to form a part of the imperial guards; cannons, flags, musquets, soldiers, all were taken or cut to pieces. Eight Polish light horse were killed upon the cannon, and sixteen have been wounded.—Among the last is captain Dzievaneski who was dangerously wounded, and lies almost without hopes of recovery. Major Segur, Marshal of the Emperor's household, charged among the Polish troops, and received many wounds, one of which is very severe.—Sixteen pieces of cannon, 10 flags, 20 covered chests, 200 waggons, laden with all kinds of baggage, and the military chests of the regiments, are the fruits of this brilliant affair. Among the prisoners, which are very numerous, are all the colonels and

lieutenant-colonels of the corps of the Spanish division. All the soldiers would have been taken, if they had not thrown away their arms, and dispersed in the mountains.—On the 1st. of December, the head-quarters of the Emperor were at Saint Augustin, and on the 2d. the Duke of Istria, with the cavalry, commanded the heights of Madrid.—The infantry could not arrive before the 3d—The intelligence which we hitherto have received leads us to think that this town is suffering under all kinds of disorders, and that the doors are barricadoed. The weather is very fine.

It is barely possible to make an observation upon these documents without anticipating the reader, and we will only detain him one moment to direct his attention to the cold-blooded sentence in the fourteenth Bulletin, which after all the canting we have heard about English selfishness and intrigues, would have condemned the capital to ashes if it had persisted in defending itself for a few hours.

FOURTEENTH BULLETINS

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Madrid, Dec. 5. 1808.

THE 2d, at noon, his Majesty arrived in person on the heights which impend over Madrid, and which were already placed the divisions of dragoons of Generals Latour, Maubourd, and Lahoussaye, and the imperial horse-guards. The anniversary of the Coronation, that epoch which has signalised so many days for ever fortunate for France, awakened in all hearts the most agreeable recollections, and inspired all the troops with an enthusiasm which manifested itself in a thousand exclamations. The weather was beautiful, and like that enjoyed in France in the finest days in the month of May. The Marshal Duke of Istria sent to summon the town, where a military Junta was formed, under the presidency of the Marquis Castelar, who had under his orders General Morla, Captain-General of Andalusia, and Inspector-General of Artillery. The town contained a number of armed peasants, assembled from all quarters, 6,000 troops of the line, and 100 pieces of cannon. Sixty thousand men were in arms: their cries were heard on every side; the bells of 200 churches rung altogether; and every thing presented the appearance of disorder and madness. The General of the troops of the line appeared at the advanced posts, to answer the summons of

the Duke of Istria. He was accompanied by thirty men of the people, whose dress, looks, and ferocious language, recalled the recollection of the assassins of September. When the Spanish General was asked whether he meant to expose women, children, and old men to the horrors of an assault, he manifested secretly the grief with which he was penetrated; he made known, by signs, that he, as well as all the honest men of Madrid, groaned under oppression; and when he raised his voice, his words was dictated by the wretches who watched over him. No doubt could be entertained of the excess to which the tyranny of the multitude was carried, when they saw him minute down all his words, and cause the record to be verified by the assassins who surrounded him. The Aide-de-camp of the Duke of Istria, who had been sent into the town, was seised by men of the lowest class of people, and was about to be massacred, when the troops of the line, indignant at the outrage, took him under their protection, and caused him to be restored to his General. A butcher's boy from Estremaduro, who commanded one of the gates, had the audacity to require that the duke of Istria should go himself into the town with his eyes blindfolded. General Montbrun rejected this presumptuous demand with indignation. He was immediately surrounded, and effected his escape only by drawing his sword. He narrowly escaped falling a victim to the imprudence with which he had forgot that he had not to make war with civilized enemies. A little time after, some deserters from the Walloon Guards came to the camp. Their depositions convinced us that the people of property, and honest men, were without influence; and it was to be concluded that conciliation was altogether impossible.

"The Marquis of Perales, a respectable man, who had hitherto appeared to enjoy the confidence of the people, had been, on the day before this, accused of putting sand in the cartridges. He was immediately strangled. It was determined that all the cartridges should be re-made; 3 or 4,000 monks were employed on this work at the Retiro. All the palaces and houses were ordered to be open to furnish provisions at discretion. The French infantry was still three leagues from Madrid. The Emperor employed the evening in reconnoitring the town, and deciding a plan of attack consistent with the consideration due to the great number of honest people always to be found in a great capital.

"To take Madrid by assault might be a military operation of little difficulty; but to engage that great city to surrender, by employing alternately force and persuasion, and by rescuing the people of property, and real good men, from the oppression under which they groaned: this was what was really difficult. All the exertions of the Emperor, during these two

days, had no other end. They have been crowned with the greatest success.

" At seven o'clock the division Lapisse, of the corps of the Duke of Belluno, arrived—The moon shone with a brightness that seemed to prolong the day. The Emperor ordered the General of Brigade, Maison, to take possession of the suburbs, and charged the General of Brigade, Lauriston, to support him in the enterprize with four pieces of artillery belonging to the guards.

" The sharp-shooters of the 16th regiment took possesion of some buildings, and in particular of the grand cemetery. At the first fire, the enemy shewed as much cowardice as he did of arrogance all the day. The Duke of Belluno employed all the night in placing his artillery in posts marked out for the attack. At midnight, the Prince of Neufchatel sent to Madrid a Spanish Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery who had been taken at Somosierra, and who saw with affright the obstinacy of his fellow-citizens. He took charge of the annexed letter.

No. 1.

To the COMMANDANT *of the Town of* MADRID.

Before Madrid, Dec, 3. 1808.

" The circumstances of the war having conducted the French army to the gates of Madrid, and all the dispostions being made to take possession of the town by storm, I hold it right, and conformable to the usage of all nations, to summon you, Monsieur General, not to expose a town so important to all the horrors of an assault, not to render so many peaceful inhabitants victims of the evils of war. Wishing to omit nothing to inform you of your real situation, I send you the present summons by one of your officers who has been made prisoner, and who has had an opportunity of seeing all the means that the army has to reduce the town. Receive Monsieur general, the assurances of my high consideration—The

Major-General, ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

On the 3d, at nine in the morning, the same flag of truce returned to the head-quarters with the following letter:

No. 2.—(In Spanish)

To his most Serene Highness the Prince of NEUFCHATEL.

Madrid, 3d Dec. 1808.

" It is indispensibly incumbent upon me, most serene signior, to consult, previous to my giving a categorical answer to your highness, the constituted authority of this court *(esta corte)*, and, moreover, to ascertain the dispositions of the people as impressed by the circumstances of the day. For these purposes, I intreat your highness to grant for this day, a suspension of arms, in order that I may comply with those duties,

assuring you, that early in the morning, or this night, I will send a general officer with my answer to your highness; assuring you, that I profess to you all the consideration due to your high rank and merit.—MARQUIS CASTELAR.

" But the General of Brigade Senarmont, an officer of great merit, had already placed 30 pieces of artillery, and had commenced a very smart fire, which made a breach in the walls of the Retiro. The sharp-shooters of the division of Villatte having passed the breach, their battallion followed them, and in less than a quarter of an hour, 1,000 men, who defended the Retiro were knocked on the head. The Palace of the Retiro, the important posts of the Observatory, of the Porcelain Manufactory, of the Grand Barrack, the Hotel of Medina Celi, and all the outlets which had been fortified, were taken by our troops. On another side, 20 pieces of cannon of the guards, accompanied by light troops, threw shells, and attracted the attention of the enemy by a false attack.

" It would have been difficult to form a conception of the disorder that reigned in Madrid, if a greater number of prisoners, arriving in succession, had not given an account of the frightful scenes of every description, of which that capital presented the spectacle. They have intersected the streets, erected parapets on the houses; barricades of bales of wool, and of cotton, had been formed, and the windows had been stopped with mattrasses. Those of the inhabitants who despaired of a successful resistance were flying into the fields; others, who had preserved some share of reason, and who preferred appearing in the midst of their property before a generous enemy, to abandoning it to the pillage of their fellow-citizens, demanded that they should not expose themselves to an assault. Those who were strangers to the town, or who had nothing to lose, were for a defence to the last extremity, accused the troops of the line of treason, and obliged them to continue their fire.

" The enemy had more than 100 pieces of cannon mounted; a more considerable number of two and three-pounders had been dug up, taken out of cellars, and tied upon carts, a grotesque train, and sufficient in itself to prove the madness of a people abandoned to itself. But all means of defence were become useless. The possessors of the Retiro are always masters of Madrid. The Emperor took all possible care to prevent the troops going from house to house. The city was ruined if many troops had been employed. Only some companies of sharp-shooters advanced, and the Emperor constantly refused to send any to sustain them. At eleven o'clock the Prince of Neufchatel wrote the annexed letter.

No. 3.

To the General Commanding in MADRID.

Imperial Camp, before Madrid, Dec 4. Eleven A. M.

Monsieur General Castelar.—To defend Madrid is contrary to the principles of war, and inhuman towards the inhabitants. His Majesty authorises me to send you a second summons.—Immense batteries are mounted; miners are prepared to blow up your principal buildings: columns of troops are at the entrances of the town, of which some companies of sharp-shooters have made themselves masters; but the Emperor, always generous in the course of his victories, suspends the attack till two o'clock. The town of Madrid ought to look for protection and security for its peaceable inhabitants; for its minsters; in fine, the oblivion of the past. Hoist a white flag before two o'clock, and send commissioners to treat for the surrender of the town.—Accept, Monsieur, General, &c.—The Major-General, ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

" His Majesty at the same time ordered the fire to cease on all points.

" At five o'clock General Morla, one of the Members of the Military Junta, and Don Bernardo Yriarte, sent from the town, repaired to the tent of his Serene Highness the Major-General. They informed him that the most intelligent persons were of opinion that the town was destitute of resources, and that the continuation of the defence would be the height of madness; but that the lowest classes of the people, and the crowd of *men, strangers to Madrid*, wished to defend themselves, and thought they could do it with effect. They REQUIRED the day of THE 4TH, *to make the people* LISTEN *to* REASON. The Prince Major-General presented them to his Majesty the Emperor and King, who addressed them thus:—" You make use of the name of the people to no purpose; if you cannot restore tranquillity and appease their minds, it is because you have yourselves excited them, you have led them astray by propagating falsehoods. Assemble the Clergy, the heads of the Convents, the Alcades, the men of property and influence, and let the town capitulate by six o'clock in the morning, or it *shall cease to exist*. I will not, nor ought I to withdraw my troops. You have massacred the unfortunate French prisoners who had fallen into your hands; only a few days ago, you suffered two persons in the suit of the Russian Ambassador to be dragged along and murdered in the public streets, because they were Frenchmen born. The incapacity and cowardice of a General had put into your power troops who capitulated on the field of battle, and the capitulation has been violated. ' You, Mr. Morla, what sort of a

letter did you write to that General!—It well became you, Sir, to talk of pillage, you who, on entering Roussillon, carried off all the women, and distributed them as booty among your soldiers!—Besides, what right had you to hold such language? —The capitulation precluded you from it. See what has been the conduct of the English, who are far from piquing themselves on being rigid observers of the Law of Nations. They have complained of the Convention of Portugal, but they have carried it into effect. To violate military treaties, is to renounce all civilization! it is placing generals on a footing with the *Bedouins* of the desert. How dare you, then, presume to solicit a capitulation, you who violated that of Baylen? See how injustice and bad faith always recoil upon the guilty, and operate to their prejudice. I had a fleet at Cadiz; it was in alliance with Spain, yet you directed against it the mortars of the town where you commanded. I had a Spanish army in my ranks; I would have preferred seeing it embark on board the English ships, and being obliged to precipitate it from the rocks of Espinosa, than to disarm it; I preferred having 7000 more enemies to fight, rather than to be deficient in honour and good faith. Return to Madrid, I give you till six o'clock tomorrow morning—return at that hour, if you have to inform me only that they have surrendered—if not, you and your troops shall all be put to the sword.

"On the 4th, at six in the morning, General Morla and General Don Fernando de Vera, Governor of the town, presented themselves at the tent of the Prince Major General; the discourses of the Emperor, repeated in the midst of the persons of distinction, the certainty that he commanded in person, the loss sustained during the foregoing day, had carried terror and repentance into all minds. During the night the most mutinous withdrew themselves from the danger by flight, and a part of the troops was disbanded. At ten o'clock, General Belliard took the command of Madrid; all the posts were put into the hands of the French, and a general pardon was proclaimed.

"From this moment, men, women, and children, spread themselves about the streets in perfect security. The shops were open till eleven o'clock.—All the citizens set themselves to destroy the barricades and re-pave the streets, the monks returned into their Convents, and in a few hours Madrid presented the most extraordinary contrast, a contrast inexplicable to those unaccostomed to the manners of great towns. So many men, who cannot conceal from themselves what they would have done in similar circumstances, express their astonishment at the generosity of the French. Fifty thousand stand of arms have been given up, and 100 pieces of cannon are collected at the Retiro. The anguish in which the inhabitants

of this wretched city have lived for these four months cannot be described. The Junta was without influence; the most ignorant and the maddest of men had all the power in their hands, and the people at every instant massacred, or threatened with the gallows, their magistrates and their generals.

"The General of Brigade, Maison, has been wounded. General Bruyere, who advanced imprudently the moment the firing ceased, has been killed. Twelve soldiers have been killed, and fifty wounded. This loss, so trifling for an event of so much importance, is owing to the smallness of the number of troops suffered to engage: it is owing, besides, we must say, to the extreme cowardice of all those who had arms in their hands against us.

"The artillery according to its usual custom, has done great service. Ten thousand fugitives, who had escaped from Burgos, and Somosierra, and the second division of the Army of Reserve, were on the 3d within three leagues of Madrid; but being charged by a picquet of dragoons, they fled, abandoning 40 pieces of cannon, and 60 caissons.

"A meritorious trait cited.—An old General, retired from the service, and aged eighty years, was in his house at Madrid, near the street of Alcala—a French officer entered, and took up his quarters there with his party. This respectable old man appeared before him, holding a young girl by the hand, and said, "I am an old soldier—I know the rights and licentiousness of war—there is my daughter—I give 900,000 livers for her portion—save her honour, and be her husband." The young Officer took the old man, his family, and house, under his protection. How culpable are they who expose so many peaceful citizens, so many unfortunate inhabitants of a great capital, to so many misfortunes!

"The Duke of Dantzick arrived at Segovia on the 3d. The Duke of Istria is gone in pursuit of the division of Pena, which having escaped from the battle of Tudela, took the route of Guadalaxara. Florida Blanca, and the Junta, had fled to Toledo. They did not think themselves in safety in that town neither, and have gone to take refuge with the English.

"The conduct of the English is shameful. On the 20th, of November, they were at the Escurial, to the number of 6,000. They passed some days there. They pretended they would do nothing less than pass the Pyrennees, and come to the Garonne. Their troops are very fine, and well disciplined. The confidence with which they had inspired the Spaniards is inconceivable. Some hoped that this division would go to Somosierra; others, that it would come to defend the capital of so dear an ally. Scarcely were they informed that the Emperor was at Somosierra, when the English troops beat a

retreat on the Escurial. From thence, combining their march with the division which was at Salamanca, they have taken their course towards the sea. "Arms, powder, and clothing, they have given us," said a Spaniard, "but their soldiers came only to excite us, to lead us astray, and to abandon us in this critical moment."

"But are you ignorant," answered a French officer, "of the most recent facts of our history! What have they done for the Stadtholder, for Sardinia, for Austria! What have they done recently for Russia? What have they done still more recently for Sweden? They every where foment war; they distribute arms like poison; but they shed their blood only for their direct and personal interests. Expect nothing else from their selfishness." "Still," replied the Spaniard, "their cause was ours. Forty thousand English, added to our forces at Tudela, and at Espinosa, might have balanced the fortune of the war, and saved Portugal. But now, that our army of Blake on the left, that of the centre, and that of Arragon on the right, are destroyed; that Spain is almost entirely conquered, and that reason is about to complete its submission, what is to become of Portugal. It is not at Lisbon that the English ought to defend themselves; they ought to have done so at Espinosa, at Burgos, at Tudela, at Somosierra, and before Madrid."

FIFTEENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Madrid, Dec. 7, 1808.

"HIS Majesty has named the General of Artillery, Senarmont, General of Division. The Major Segur has been named Adjutant Commandant. The life of this officer had been despaired of; but he is now out of danger. The Count Krazinski, Colonel of the Polish light horse, though ill, has always wished to charge at the head of his corps. The Sieurs Babecki and Wolygurski, Quarter-Masters, and Surzeyski, a soldier of the Polish light horse, who have taken standards from the enemy, have been named Members of the Legion of Honour. His Majesty has moreover granted to the Polish light horse eight decorations for the officers, and as many for the soldiers. The Chief of Squadron, Lubienski, reconnoitred on the 2nd the remains of the army of Castanos, near Guadalaxara. They were under the command of General Pena. Castanos was said to have been deposed by the General Junta. The Duke of Infantado has been one of the principal causes of the misfortunes his country has suffered; he was the principal instrument of England, in its lamentable progress against Spain; it was he who was employed by that

country to cause dissentions between the Father and the Son —to overturn the throne of Charles, whose attachment to France was known—to excite outrages against the first Minister of that Sovereign—to elevate to the Supreme Power that young Prince, who, by his marriage with a Princess of the ancient House of Naples, had drank in that hatred against the French, from which that House had never departed. It was the Duke of Infantado who played the principal part in the conspiracy of the Escurial; and it was to him that the power of Generalissimo of the Armies of Spain was confided at that time. He was afterwards seen taken the oath of allegiance at Bayonne between the hands of King Joseph, as Colonel of the Spanish guards. On his return to Madrid, we saw him throw off the mask, and shew himself openly the man of the English. It was in his house that the Ministers of England were lodged; it was in his society that the agents accredited and secret of that power lived. After having exhorted his fellow-citizens to a mad resistance, he was seen, with a cowardice equal to his treason, flying from Madrid to Guadalaxara, under the pretext of going to bring reinforcements, withdrawing himself by this stratagem from the dangers into which he had drawn his fellow-citizens, and shewing no anxiety except for the English agent, whom he carried off in his own carriage, and whom he served for an escort. And what will he gain by this conduct? He will lose his titles, his property, valued at 2,000,000 of livres a year, and he will go to London, to seek the contempt, the disdain, and ingratitude with which England has always rewarded the men who sacrifice their honour and their country to the injustice of her cause. The Bulletin continues, "As soon as the report of the Chief of Squadron, Count Lubienski, was known, the Duke of Istria put himself in march, with sixteen squadrons of cavalry, to observe the enemy. The Duke of Bulluno followed with the infantry. The Duke of Istria arrived at Guadalaxara, and found there the rear-guard of the enemy, which was filing towards Andalusia, dispersed it, and made 500 prisoners. The General of Division Ruffin, and the brigade of dragoons of Bordesault, informed that the enemy were moving towards Aranjuez, proceeded to that place. The enemy were put to flight, and these troops were immediately put in pursuit of all those that are flying towards Andalusia.

"The General of Division Lahoussaye entered the Escurial on the 3rd. Five or six hundred peasants wished to defend the Convent, but were driven out by a brisk attack.

"Every day contributes to dissipate the remains of the stupor into which the inhabitants of Madrid had fallen. Those who had concealed their moveables and precious effects are

bringing them back to their houses. Their shops are furnished as in ordinary times The barricades, and all the other preparations of defence, have disappeared. The taking possession of Madrid has been executed without disorder, and tranquillity reigns in all parts of that great town. A fuzileer of the guard having been found with a number of watches upon him, and being convicted of having stolen them, has been shot in the principal place of Madrid. We have found in that city 200,000 pound weight of powder, 10,000 balls, 2,000,000 pounds weight of lead, 100 pieces of field artillery, and 120,000 muskets, mostly English. The disarming continues without any difficulty; all the inhabitants conform to it with the greatest willingness; they return with eagerness and good faith to the royal authority, which rescues them from the mischievous influence of England, from the violence of factions, and disorders of popular movements. The King of Spain has created a regiment which bears the name of the 'Royal Foreigners,' into which are admitted the deserters, and the Germans who were in the service of Spain. He has also formed a Swiss regiment, called 'Reding the Younger,' that officer having conducted himself like a real Swiss patriot, and in a manner very different from General Reding. The one has deserved well from his countrymen, and will every where obtain esteem; the other, generally despised, will go to the taverns of London, to enjoy a pension of some hundreds of pounds sterling, badly earned, and paid with disdain. He must emigrate from the Continent. The regiments of Royal Foreigners, and Reding the Younger, consist already of many thousand men.

"The 5th and 8th corps of the army of Spain, and three divisions of cavalry, are but passing the Bidassoa; they are yet very far from being in line, and yet a great number of victories have been obtained, and the greatest part of the business is done."

SIXTEENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Madrid, Dec. 8, 1808.

"THE Duke of Montebello bestows much praise on the conduct of the General of Brigade, Pouzet, in the battle of Tudela; on that of Generals Lefebvre, of the General of Brigade of Artillery Couin, and also on that of his Aide-de-Camp, Guehenneuc, who was wounded. He makes particular mention of three regiments from the Vistula. General of Brigade Augereau, who charged at the head of the division of Morlot, distinguished himself. M. M. Viry and

Labedoyere took a piece of artillery in the midst of the enemy's line. The latter was slightly wounded in the arm.

" His Majesty has nominated Colonel Pepin General of Brigade, and the Polish Major Kliki, Colonel. The Polish Colonel Kasinouski, who was wounded, has been appointed a Member of the Legion of Honour.

" Ruffin, General of Division, having passed the Tagus at Aranjuez, pushed on to Ocana, and cut off the remains of the army of Andalusia, who were returning to Andalusia, and who, being frustrated in their design, have thrown themselves upon Cuenca.

" The divisions of cavalry under General Lasalle and Milhaud have directed their march for Portugal, by Talavera de la Reina.

" The Duke of Dantzic arrived this day at Madrid with his division of the army.

" Marshal Ney, with his division, has reached Guadalaxara, coming from Saragossa.

" His Majesty, anxious to spare the inhabitants of that town from the horrors inseparable from a capture by storm, was unwilling that Saragossa should be attacked, before the intelligence of the events at Madrid, and of the dispersion of the Spanish armies, should be known there. If, however, that city should obstinately make resistance, mines and bombs shall bring it to reason.

" The 8th division has entered Spain. General Delaborde is about to establish his head-quarters at Vittoria. The Polish division, under the orders of General Valence, arrived this day at Buitrago.

" The English are retreating on all sides. The division of Lasalle has, however, fallen in with fifteen men, whom they have put to the sword. They were stragglers, or men who had lost their way.

" Marshal Mortier will arrive on the 10th at Catalonia, to turn the enemy's army, and to form a junction with the Generals Duhesme and St. Cyr.

" On the 23rd of November, the breach in the castle of Trinity of the city of Rosas, was found, on approaching it, to be practicable. On the same day, the English landed 400 men at the foot of the castle. A battalion of Italians marched against them, killed 10 men, wounded above that number, and drove the rest into the sea.

" About 30 vessels were observed to come out of the harbour of Rosas, which induced a belief that the inhabitants had begun to evacuate the town.

" On the 24th, the advanced guard of the enemy encamped on the Fluvia, consisting of about 5 or 6,000 men, com-

manded by General Alvarez, came in several columns, to attack the posts of Navata, Pientos, Armodas, and Garrigas, occupied by General Souham's division. The 1st regiment of light infantry, and the 4th battalion of the 3rd light infantry, were alone opposed to the enemy, sustained the attack with uncommon firmness, and finally put them to flight.

"The enemy has been repulsed on the other side of the Fluvia with considerable loss in killed and wounded Several prisoners have been made, among whom are Colonel Le Brun, the second in command of the expedition, and Colonel of the regiment of Tarragona, and the Major and a Captain of that regiment."

What a block of adamant must that heart be which penned the following sentence without being lacerated to the core, without repenting in dust and ashes. "*How culpable are they who expose so many peaceful citizens, so many unfortunate inhabitants of a great capital to so many misfortunes!!!*"

The seventeenth Bulletin after stating that the Emperor had reviewed the troops, and after paying some compliments to the regiments of Nassau, Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, and the Confederation of the Rhine, was principally occupied with some letters, said to have been written by the Queen of Naples to her daughter the Queen of Ferdinand VII. in the year 1806, before Naples had been seized by the French. They were published as having been found in the palace belonging to the Duke of Infantado; be that as it may, there could be no motive for their publication, but to make public a harsh opinion, said to have been contained in one of them, which attributed the misfortunes of that royal home, to the landing of the English before the victory of Austerlitz. Her Majesty is made to say, "we are all in good health but are dreadfully uneasy, Massena has been with 50,000 men on our frontier, since this fatal and accursed debarkation of the English,

who, with a cowardly perfidy without example, have, after having compromised us, quitted us at the moment of the greatest danger, *they have ruined us.*"

The eighteenth and nineteenth Bulletins coming from a man who was once the child and champion of jacobinism, are rareties that deserve to be preserved entire, inasmuch as they serve to shew us better than all the reflections in ten thousand pretty novels how a little turn of fortune changes all our language and habits of thinking; little did poor Robespierre think when he was jumbling the Gusmun's, the Calvo's, the Tilly's, and the Buonaparté's together in his revolutionary crucible—when he was wading through so many crimes to drag down every thing exalted and distinguished, to a level with the recrement in his own laboratory—when he had raised copper to the value of gold, and reduced silver to a level with tin, that no shades of pre-eminence might remain, little did he think that the dross or the dregs which would never have existed but for the boiling of his pot, could ever acquire the privilege of scoffing at its fellow, because it happened not to be "*fine gold of Ophir.*" This Buonaparté also formerly played a part under Robespierre during the reign of terror; and to the reign of terror and Robespierre alone does he owe his political existence. If he despises his creator why does he follow his precepts? He speaks of Robespierre with abhorrence, and yet takes him for an example, he affects to treat him as a criminal, and yet appropriates to himself all the profit of his crimes. Moral rogue! humane assassin! thou shalt have the privilege of speaking for thyself, although thou art so little disposed to do justice to others.

EIGHTEENTH BULLETIN,

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Dated Madrid, Dec. 12, 1808.

"THE Central Junta of Spain had but little power; the greater part of the provinces paid it little submission, and all of them deprived it of the administration of the finances. It was under the influence of the lowest class of the people: it was governed by the minority. Florida Blanca was without any credit. The Junta was under the controul of two men, the one named Lorenzo Calvo, a grocer of Saragossa, who had in a few months obtained the title of 'Excellency.' He is one of those violent men who appear in revolutions,—his honesty was more than suspected. The other is called Tilly, formerly condemned to the gallies as a thief; the younger brother of a man of the name of Gusman, who formerly played a part under Robespierre during the reign of terror. As soon as any of the members of the Junta opposed the violent measures that were proposed, these two wretches immediately called out 'treason,' and immediately a mob was collected under the windows of Aranjuez. The extravagance and wickedness of these dangerous men, was manifested upon all occasions. As soon as they learnt that the Emperor was at Burgos, and he would soon be at Madrid, they published a declaration of war against France replete with insults and folly. On the 11th, when the General of Division Lassalle, who was pursuing the enemy, arrived at Talavera de la Reyna, where the English had passed triumphantly, ten days before, saying they were going to relieve the capital, a frightful spectacle met the eyes of the French. A body clothed in the uniform of a Spanish general was suspended from a gallows, and pierced with a thousand bullets. It was the General Benito San Jean, whom his soldiers in their terror, and as an excuse for their commander, cruelly sacrificed. The Bishops of Leon and Astorga, and a great number of ecclesiastics, distinguished themselves by their good conduct and their apostolic virtues; the general pardon offered by the Emperor, has produced a great effect. The destruction of the duties odious to the people and contrary to the prosperity of the state, and the measures which leave the numerous class of monks no longer any uncertainty respecting their lot, produced a good effect. The general animadversion is against the English. The peasants say in their language, that at the approach of the French the English went away to mount the wooden horses, (ships.)

NINETEENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Madrid, Dec. 13, 1808.

"ROSAS surrendered on the 6th by capitulation. Two thousand men have been made prisoners: a considerable quantity of artillery was found in the place. Six English ships of the line which were at anchor in the harbour, would not carry away the garrison. The Emperor this day reviewed the whole of the united troops of the Duke of Dantzic, beyond the Bridge of Segovia. Sebastiani's division has marched for Talavera de la Reyna. The breaking up of the Spanish troops is observed on every side. The new levies which were attempted to be raised, disperse on all sides, and return to their homes. The details which we learn from the Spaniards respecting the Central Junta, are all of a nature to place them in a most ridiculous point of view. That assembly is already become an object of contempt with all Europe. Its members, to the number of eighty-six, have bestowed upon themselves titles and ribbons of every sort, and an annual allowance of 60,000 livres. Florida Blanca was a real man of Spain: he is now ashamed of the dishonour he has brought upon his old age. As usually happens in such assemblies, two or three persons domineer over all the rest, and these two or three persons were in the pay of England. The opinion held by the city of Madrid respecting the Junta is notorious: they are as much the object of the mockery and derision, as they are of the detestation of the inhabstants of the capital. Never was there so fine a December—It is like the beginning of spring. The Emperor avails himself of the fine weather to remain in the country one league from Madrid."

TWENTIETH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Madrid, Dec. 19, 1808.

"HIS Majesty this day reviewed the army which is at Madrid, with its equipments; and civil officers, 60,000 men, 150 pieces of cannon, and more than 1,500 waggons loaded with biscuit and brandy, formed an imposing appearance. The right wing of the army was supported at Chamartin, and the left stretched beyond Madrid.—The Duke of Bellune is at Toledo, with his corps of the army.—The Duke of Dantzic, with his corps, is at Talavera de la Reyna.—The eighth corps has reached Burgos.—General St. Cyr has made a junction at Barcelona, with General Duhesme.—

Our cavalry scours the country, to the confines of Andalusia. The Emperor has given the army some days rest.—Excellent fortifications are completing on the heights of Madrid; six thousand men are employed upon the works —The small battering train, composed of 24-pounders and small mortars, is arrived.—Some fifty men have been found in the hospitals of Talavera de la Reyna; two or three hundred saddles, and some remains of the magazines which belonged to the English troops.—Some detachments of their cavalry have appeared on the side of Valladolid. This is the first sign of their existence in this country which the English have given. They have many sick, and deserters. On the 13th of this month, their army was still at Salamanca. So splendid an armament—so strange an inactivity for the last six weeks appears most unaccountable.—His Majesty enjoys the best state of health.

The expectations of England, of Spain, of Portugal, and of Europe, were settled upon the expedition of Sir John Moore, who it was hoped would have been able to infuse an extraordinary degree of valour into the Spanish population, and to rouse a sufficient force to reduce the whole Imperial army, at least to terms of capitulation. When the Bulletins were published announcing the battle of Tudela, and subsequent events, the details combined such rapidity of movement, and such a succession of good fortune as appeared incredible: they were thought to be forgeries, and many were a long time before they would believe them; but when the Spanish accounts were published, they not only came in confirmation of the French, but that in particular, which related to the battle of Tudela, led to the conclusion, that very little might be expected from the Spanish officers, for in fact the French had out generaled them.

When General O'Neill, who commanded the Spanish army, thought he had beaten his enemy, and was about to take possession of his prize, he found that the French had run away with it, and though he attributes this mistake to the neglect

of the Captain-General, which serves to show that there was a want of proper intelligence among the officers, yet it is evident, from the perusal of his dispatch, that he had suffered himself to be decoyed by the enemy. "The battalion of royal Spanish guards" he says "commenced an attack upon an important post with such unexampled gallantry, that the enemy instantly abandoned it, leaving the field of battle covered with dead bodies. "The same success" he adds, "attended the attack in front, by the regiments of the volunteers of Castile and Segorbia. While I was indulging in the satisfaction produced by our success, and considering the battle gained, two orderly officers of cavalry came to desire me, on the part of the Captain-General, not to be alarmed by the appearance of a column of infantry, with a considerable body of cavalry, who were advancing on the left, as they were the troops of General La Pena coming from Cascante. Congratulating myself upon this aid, which would have decided the battle in our favour, I rode along my left to direct General St. March to continue the attack in the same order, when that General surprised me by telling me it was necessary we should retreat, as our right had been forced, that the enemy were in Tudela, and that all the troops that occupied the centre of one position had retreated. This intelligence astonished me the more, as the Captain-General had sent me no information of this event, a circumstance which appeared to me impossible; but a firing being heard in the rear of the olive plantations, I was convinced of the fact. In this melancholy situation, the division of General La Pena not having moved, and that which was announced as his division proving to be a corps of the enemy, of about 8,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry, I gave directions for retreating in the best possible order; placing the

2nd regiment of Valencia in an oblique position to cover the retreat of our troops. The troops were surrounded on all sides, but they gallantly cut their way with the bayonet. I put myself at their head, and left General St. March, with the cavalry, to protect this daring and only resource that was left to us. The General discharged this trust with the same exactness that he did every other duty confided to him during the action. I can assure your Excellency, that I never witnessed an occasion in which all the officers and soldiers more completely performed their duty; but of those who were under my orders, I ought to make particular mention of the third battalion of the royal Spanish guards, and the regiments of Castile, Segorbia, and Turia; D. M. Velasco, commander of the artillery of my division; D. A. Ulloa, commander of General St. March's; D. J. Monino; D. R. Del Pino, who, though surrounded by the enemy, spiked a part of the artillery which they could not bring off, are very much entitled to consideration for having entirely destroyed three columns of the enemy. The enemy's loss cannot be less than 8,000 men, as we may assure ourselves, when they admitted it exceeded 4,000. I have not yet received all the returns of the loss on our side, but I doubt whether it amounts to 2,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. I have the satisfaction of having saved half of the artillery, which was brought off by routes almost impracticable, and of having been a near spectator of every thing that passed to the last moment. I can assure you, that in this unfortunate event all those under my command have done their duty to their king and country; and that had the Captain-General ordered the army of the centre to support us, it would, beyond all doubt, have been the most glorious day for his

Majesty's arms, of any recorded in the history of this war."

The road to Madrid was thus left open, the Emperor was left to establish his brother in his government, and the English, who were entirely ignorant of the progress of their army or of its condition, were prepared to believe the account of it that was given in a fresh issue of Bulletins.

TWENTY-FIRST BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN. *(No date.)*

"THE English entered Spain on the 29th of October, during the months of November and December they beheld the destruction of the army of Gallicia at Espinosa; of the army of Estremadura at Burgos, of that of Arragon and Valencia, at Tudela; of the army of reserve at Somo-Sierra; in fine, they beheld the fall of Madrid without making a single movement, and without any attempt to succour the Spanish armies, to whom, however, a division of the English troops would have proved of considerable assistance. In the beginning of December, information was received that the columns of the British army were retreating on Corunna, where they were to re-embark. By later accounts, it afterwards appeared that they had halted, and that on the 16th of December they set out from Salamanca in order to take the field. As early as the 15th, the light cavalry had marched from Valladolid. The whole of the English army passed the Douro, and arrived on the 23rd in presence of the Duke of Dalmatia at Saldanha. As soon as the Emperor was apprised at Madrid of this unexpected determination on the part of the English, he marched in order to cut off their retreat, and pursue their rear. But nothwithstanding the diligence exerted by the French troops, the passage of the mountain of Guadarrama, which was covered with snow, the incessant rain, and overflowing of the torrents, delayed their march full two days.—On the 22nd the Emperor left Madrid. His head-quarters were on the 23rd at Villa-Castin, the 25th at Tordesillas, and on the 27th at Medino de Rio-Secco. On the 24th, at break of day, the enemy had began to move, in order to outflank the left of the Duke of Dalmatia, but having been informed during the morning, of the movement that took place at Madrid, they immediately began to retreat, abandoned their Spanish adherents, whose passions they had inflamed, the re-

mains of the Gallician army, that had conceived fresh hopes, some of their hospitals, a part of their baggage, and a great number of stragglers. They committed great devastations, the inevitable result of forced marches of troops in retreat; they carried away with them mules, horses, and several other effects; they pillaged a great number of churches and convents. In the abbey of Sahagun, which contained 60 monks, and which had all along been respected by the French army, they committed every sort of depredation. Every where the priests and the monks were seen flying at their approach. This disorderly conduct exasperated the country against them, and their difference of language, manners, and of religion, contributed not a little to that disposition of men's minds.—They reproached the Spaniards with having no longer an army to unite with theirs, and with having deceived the English government. The Spaniards returned for answer, that Spain had numerous armies, but that the English had allowed them to be destroyed without having made any effort to assist them. During the fifteen days that have just elapsed, they did not fire a single musket. The light cavalry only had given some blows with their swords. General Duresnel, at the head of 400 light horse of the guard, fell in at the close of the evening with a column of English infantry on their march, sabred a number of soldiers, and carried disorder into the columns.—General Lefebvre, Disnonettes, colonel of the chasseurs of the guard, detached two days before, with three squadrons of his regiment, having taken a quantity of baggage, of women, and stragglers, and finding the bridge of Ezela cut down, imagined that the town of Benavente was evacuated. Carried away by that impetuosity with which the French soldiers have been so often reproached, he swam across the river, in order to make for Benavente, where he fell in with the whole of the cavalry of the rear-guard of the English; a long contest here ensued, 400 men against 2,000; there was no resisting numbers: those brave fellows re-crossed the river. The horse of General Lefebvre was killed by a ball: he had himself received a wound from a pistol shot, and being dismounted, was made prisoner. Ten of his chasseurs, who had also been dismounted, were likewise taken, five were drowned, and twenty were wounded. This sharp affair must have convinced the English what they would have to dread from such men in general action; General Lefebvre undoubtedly committed a fault, but it was the fault of a Frenchman; he ought to be blamed and rewarded at the same time. The number of prisoners taken from the enemy, up to the present moment, and who are chiefly composed of scattered individuals and stragglers, amounts to 300.—On the 28th the

head-quarters of the Emperor were at Valderas; the head-quarters of the Duke of Dalmatia at Manilla, the Duke of Elchingen at Villatora. On his departure from Madrid, the Emperor appointed King Joseph his Lieutenant-General, with the command of the garrison of the capital, together with the corps of the Dukes of Dantzic and Belluno; the divisions of cavalry of Lasalle, Milhaud, and Latour Maubourg, are left for the protection of the centre.—The weather is exceedingly bad. To a piercing cold, heavy and continued rains have succeeded. We suffer, but the English must suffer still more."

TWENTY-SECOND BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Benavente, Dec. 31, 1808.

"ON the 30th, the cavalry, commanded by the Duke of Istria, passed the Ezela. On the evening of the 30th, it traversed Benavente, and pursued the enemy as far as Puenta de la Vilana. On the same day the head-quarters were established at Benavente. The English were not satisfied with destroying an arch of the bridge of Ezela, but they also blew up the buttresses with mines, a damage wholly unprofitable, and which could be hurtful only to the country; the rear betook themselves to the most shocking plundering. The soldiers, in the excess of their continual intemperance, gave reins to all the licentiousness of brutal inebriety. Every thing in their conduct bespoke rather an hostile army than one which came to the assistance of a friendly power.—The contempt of the English for the Spaniards gave a sharper edge to the impression made by so many outrages. This experience will throw a salutary damp on those insurrections, instigated by foreigners. One cannot help regretting that the English had not sent an army into Andalusia. The army that passed through Benavente ten days ago, triumphed already in hope, and already having their colours hung with trophies, nothing could equal the audacity and security they displayed. On their return, their countenance was sadly changed. They were harrassed with fatigue, and seemed to be borne down with shame of retreating without a battle. In order to anticipate the just reproaches of the Spaniards, the English continued incessantly to repeat, that they had been promised to be joined by numerous forces; and the Spaniards repelled their calumnious assertions by arguments to which there was no answer.—Ten days ago, when the English were traversing the country, they well knew that the Spanish armies had been destroyed. The commissaries

whom they employed to accompany the armies of the left, of the centre, and of the right, knew full well that it was not 50,000 men only, but 180,000 men that the Spaniards had put under arms; that these 180,000 men had fought, while, for six weeks, the English had remained unconcerned spectators of their struggles. These commissaries could not but have made it known that the Spanish armies had ceased to exist. The English, therefore, could not be ignorant that the Spaniards were without armies. When, ten days ago, they again moved forward, intoxicated with the silly hope of deceiving the vigilance of the French general, they fell into the snare which the French general had laid for drawing them into the open country. They had before made some marches on their return to their ships.—You ought, observe the Spaniards, to have persisted in that prudent determination, or else you should have been in force enough to balance the destinies of the French. Above all, you ought not to have at first advanced with such confidence, only afterwards to fall back with so much precipitation. You should not have drawn the theatre of the war among us, and exposed us to the ravages of the two armies. After having brought down upon our heads such accumulations of disasters, you ought not to throw the fault upon us.—We have not been able to resist the French troops; nor do you seem more able to make head against them. Forbear therefore to accuse us, to outrage us—all our misfortunes we owe to you.—The English had reported throughout the country, that they had defeated 5,000 of the French cavalry on the banks of the Ezela, and that the field of battle was covered with their dead. The inhabitants of Benavente were much surprised, upon visiting the field of battle, to have found there only three Englishmen and two French. That contest, of 400 men against 2,000, does great honour to the French. During the whole of the 29th, the river continued to swell considerably, so that at the close of the evening it became impossible to ford it. It was in the middle of the river, and at the moment he was on the point of being drowned, that General Lefebvre, being carried away by the current to the side occupied by the English, was made prisoner. The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, in that affair of advanced posts, has been far greater than that of the French. The flight of the English was so precipitate, that they left at their hospital their sick and wounded, and were obliged to burn a fine magazine of tents and cloathing.—They killed all the horses that were over fatigued or wounded, and which might embarrass their retreat. It is scarcely here to be credited how that spectacle, so shocking to our manners, of hundreds of horses shot with pistols, is revolting to the Spaniards.

Many persons look upon it as a sort of sacrifice—some religious rite—which gives rise, in the mind of the Spaniards, to very strange pictures of the religion of England. The English are retreating in the utmost haste. All the Germans in their pay are deserting. Our army will, this evening, be at Asterga near the borders of Gallicia."

TWENTY-THIRD BULLETIN.

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Benavente, Jan. 1, 1809.

"THE Duke of Dalmatia arrived on the 30th of December at Mancille, where was the left of the enemy, consisting of the Spaniards under General Romana. General Franceschi overthrew them in a single charge, killed a great number, took two standards, and made prisoners a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, fifty officers, and 1,500 men.—On the 31st the Duke of Dalmatia entered Leon, where he found 2,000 sick. Romana succeeded Blake in the command, after the battle of Espinosa. The remains of that army, which, while before Bilboa, consisted of 50,000 men, were reduced to almost 5,000 at Mancilla. These wretches, without clothes, and oppressed with every misery, filled the hospitals.—The English are held in detestation by these troops whom they despise, and by the peaceable inhabitants whom they abuse and whose substance they devour, in order to support their own army.—The mind of the people of the kingdom of Leon is much changed. They loudly cry out for Peace and their King; they curse the English and their fallacious insinuations. They reproach them with being the cause of the shedding of Spanish blood, in order to feed the English monopoly, and perpetuate the war on the continent. The perfidy of England and her motives are now obvious to the meanest and most illiterate Spanish peasant. They know what they suffer: and the authors of their sufferings are before their eyes.—Meantime the English retreat with the utmost haste, pursued by the Duke of Istria, with 9,000 cavalry. Among the magazines which they burnt at Benavente, were, independant of tents, 4,000 blankets, and a great quantity of rum. We picked up upwards of 200 waggons of baggage and ammunition, left on the road from Benevente to Astorga. The shattered remains of Romana's army threw themselves into the latter town, and increased the confusion.—The events of the English expedition to Spain must furnish materials for a fine opening speech to the English Parliament. The English nation must be informed, that her army remained three months in a state of inaction, while

it was in their power to assist the Spaniards; that its leaders, or those whose orders they executed, have been guilty of the extreme folly of making a movement forward after the Spanish armies had been destroyed; that, in a word, it entered upon the new year by running away, pursued by an enemy, whom it did not dare to fight, and by the curses of those whom it had stirred up to resistance, and whom it was its duty to support. Such enterprizes and such results can belong only to a country that has no government. Fox, or even Pitt, would not have been guilty of such blunders. To contend against France by land, who has one hundred thousand cavalry, fifty thousand horses for all sorts of military equipment, and nine hundred thousand infantry, was, on the part of England, carrying folly to the utmost extreme; it betrays indeed a greediness for disgrace; it is, in fine, to administer the affairs of England just as the cabinet of the Thuilleries could wish them to be administered.—It betrays no small ignorance of Spain, to have imagined that any importance could be attached to popular commotion, or to indulge the smallest hope that by kindling in that country the flames of sedition, such a conflagration could be attended with any decided result or any material duration.—A few fanatical priests are quite sufficient to compose and propagate libels, to carry a momentary disorder into the minds of men: but something else is required to cause a nation to rise to arms. At the time of the French Revolution, it required three years, and the presence of the Convention, to prepare the means of military successes. And who does not know to what hazards France was nevertheless exposed? France was however, stirred up. Supported by the unanimous resolution to re-assert rights of which she had been deprived in times of obscurity. In Spain, it was a few men who stirred up the people, in order to preserve the exclusive possession of rights odious to the people. Those who fought for the inquisition, for the Franciscans, and for feudal rights, might be animated by an ardent zeal for their personal interests, but could never infuse into a whole nation a firm resolve or a permanent opinion. In spite of the English feudal rights, the Franciscans, and the inquisition, have no longer any existence in Spain.—After the capture of Rosas, General Gouvion St. Cyr, shaped his march against Barcelona, at the head of the 7th corps. He dispersed every thing that he found before that place, and formed a junction with General Duhesme. That junction brought his army to 40,000 men.—The Dukes of Treviso and Abrantes have carried all the outworks at Saragossa. The General of engineers, Lacoste, is preparing the means of getting possession of that city without loss.—The

King of Spain has gone to Aranjuez, in order to review the first corps, commanded by the Duke of Belluno."

TWENTY-FOURTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Astorga, Jan. 2, 1809.

"THE Emperor arrived at Astorga on the 1st of January. The road from Benevente to Astorga is covered with dead horses belonging to the English, with travelling carriages, artillery, caissons and warlike stores. There were found at Astorga magazines of sheets, blankets, and the tools and implements of pioneers.—As to Romana's army, it is reduced almost to nothing. The small number that remain are without coats, shoes, pay, food, and it is no longer to be considered any thing.—The Emperor has charged the Duke of Dalmatia with the glorious mission of pursuing the English to the place of their debarkation, and of driving them into the sea, at the point of the sword.—The English will learn what it is to make an inconsiderate movement in presence of the French army. The manner in which they have been driven from the kingdoms of Leon and Gallicia, and the destruction of a part of their army, will, no doubt, teach them to be more circumspect of their operations on the continent.—All that remains of the Spanish insurgent troops has been without pay for several months back."

CHAPTER VII.

Introductory Remarks on the Emperor's Successes.—March of the British Army.—Instructions of the English Government to Sir John Moore,—to act as auxiliary and may submit to be commanded by the Spaniards.—His arrival at Salamanca.—Learns the hopeless State of the Spanish Armies.—Sir David Baird reaches Astorga.—Detail of his Operations.

HE foregoing being the Emperor's own account of this eventful period; and, considering the triumph of his arms, not a vaunting and exaggerated account, it will not be unprofitable to pause awhile to consider whether some vicious principle has not operated in most of the governments opposed to him, to which as large a share of his success must be ascribed as to his own peculiar talents. With regard to Great Britain in particular this question occurs most forcibly; for how can it be that a nation so powerful, with means so abundant, with interests of such magnitude, and with stimulents the most impelling to urge it to maintain the highest rank; how is it if there is not some incurable delusion constantly leading her into the wrong course, until she is a day too late for her object, that she does not sometimes happen to be right by chance? We will return to this inquiry: but as we know nothing yet of the circumstances that prevented the British forces appearing upon the field of action we will take their own narrative.

It will be recollected that the point at which we last left the British army was on its departure under Sir John Moore, from Lisbon. It was an act of providence in Government to appoint sev-

eral persons, of considerable talent and consequence, to act as superior commissaries to provide for the different wants of the army: Lord. W. Bentinck was at Madrid, with Mr. Frere the Ambassador; General Broderick was at Corunna, and Colonel Hamilton in Asturias. From the large bundles of papers laid before the English Parliament to explain the general arrangement of the plan, it appears that all persons concerned were made distinctly acquainted with the part they were to perform, and a general idea of the whole may be formed from the instructions sent out to the Commander-in-Chief from Lord Castlereagh.

Copy of a letter from Viscount CASTLEREAGH *to Lieutenant-General* SIR JOHN MOORE.

Downing-street, Sept. 26. 1808

SIR,

" HIS Majesty having determined to employ a corps of his troops, of not less than 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, in the North of Spain, to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom, has been graciously pleased to entrust to you the command in chief of this force.

" The officer commanding his Majesty's forces in Portugal is directed to detach, under your orders, a corps of 2,000 infantry, together with the 18th and King's German regiment of Light Dragoons, now at Lisbon, and a due proportion of artillery, to be joined by a corps of above 10,000 men, which is now assembling at Falmouth, the detail of which you will receive herewith enclosed.

" The cavalry will be sent from hence upon the return of the horse transports from the Tagus, some time since ordered; and it may be expected to arrive before the rest of the corps can be assembled and equipped to take the field.

" It has been determined to assemble this force in the North of Spain, as the quarter where they can be most speedily brought together, and that to which the exertions of the enemy appear at present to be principally directed. As it will require considerable arrangements before a force of this magnitude can be enabled to take the field, and as it is not deemed advisable that it should be partially committed against the enemy before the whole can be assembled, and rendered completely moveable, it has been thought prudent to send that

part of this army which is to proceed from hence, to Corunna, rather than to disembark any part of it, in the first instance, at any position more advanced towards the enemy.

" It will be for you to consider, on what points in Galicia or on the borders of Leon, the force can be most advantageously assembled and equipped for service, from whence they may move forward as early as circumstances shall permit; and it is left to your judgment to decide, whether the whole of the infantry and artillery shall be transported from Lisbon by sea to Corunna, or whether a portion shall be sent through Portugal to that destination. The cavalry you will of course direct to move by land, and if the horses for the artillery can take the same rout, so as to admit of the whole of the horse-transports being returned to England, it will tend much to accelerate the arrival of the cavalry from hence.

" It will be necessary to concert with the Commissary General Mr. Erskine, who will be attached to the service of your army, the best means of assembling an adequate supply of horses and mules for rendering your army moveable; and that this may be effected with more dispatch, it may be advisable to draw your supplies from different parts of Spain, and not altogether to depend upon Galicia, which has been considerably drained of its resources, by the equipment of General Blake's army.

" A Deputy Commissary-General, Mr. Azziotti, has been dispatched with Colonel Hamilton, of the waggon train, into the Asturias, to procure such horses and mules as that country can furnish; and he is directed to report the progress of his purchase to you. When you have ascertained the number of draft cattle of different descriptions that you will require for rendering your army moveable (which you will feel it important to restrict within the narrowest compass consistent with the efficency of your corps), you will be enabled to regulate the purchases made by the several agents; and should you deem it necessary to procure the support of his Majesty's Minister, Mr. Frere, who is now proceeding to the Central Government to facilitate these purchases, you will address yourself to him on this subject, or to any of his Majesty's civil or military agents, now employed in the respective provinces in Spain.

" I enclose for your information a statement of the various equipments which have proceeded with the respective corps now on service in Portugal, which, subject to the waste that has since taken place, will enable you to judge of the means immediately within your reach for the equipment of your army.

" I also send a similar statement with respect to the corps

assembled at Falmouth, under the orders of Lieutenant General Sir David Baird. Whatever supplies you may wish to receive, not therein included, will be immediately forwarded from hence.

" With respect to provisions, the principle upon which I have acted has been to send three months provisions in victuallers, with every corps that has moved, exclusive of the provisions in their transports, which may be averaged at about ten weeks additional consumption. This supply, aided by the cattle to be procured for the troops when on shore, may be deemed as considerably exceeding a supply for six months. And as provisions for 20,000 men for three months are ordered to be embarked, and constantly kept up as a depot here, there will be no difficulty in sending you, at the shortest notice, such supplies as you may think may be more conveniently introduced by sea, and for which you may not think it prudent to depend on the resources of the country. A large proportion of biscuit has been sent in the victuallers, that thou may be relieved from the inconveniences of baking when the troops are in motion.

" With respect to the plan of operations, on which it may be most expedient to employ your corps, when assembled and ready for service, there will be full time, before your equipments are completed, for concerting this with the Commanders of the Spanish forces.

" I shall lose no time in forwarding to you from hence such information as I may have been enabled to collect, and I am to recommend, that you will take the necessary measures for opening a communication with the Spanish authorities, for the purpose of framing the plan of the campaign, on which it may be advisable that the respective armies should act in concert.

" His Majesty has been pleased to direct, that the command in which you are employed, should be considered as distinct and separate from that of Portugal; but you will continue to communicate with the officer in the chief command at Lisbon, and act in concert with him, as may be most for the advantage of his majesty's service.

" Major General Broderick, who is at present with General Blake's army, has been ordered to repair to Corunna, in order to forward preparations for the reception of your force; and you may communicate to him such orders as you may think necessary for expediting the equipment at Corunna, and your march into the interior of Spain.

" The corps of 10,000 men, under Sir David Baird, will sail in a very few days for Corunna, and the infantry transports will be ordered to remain there, subject to your orders. In case you should want the whole or any proportion of them,

you can send an over-land express for them to Corunna, direct to Major General Broderick.

" The horse transports accompanying Sir David Baird's force will return hither, in order to cary over more horses."

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, K. B. &c.

Copy of a letter from Visconnt CASTLEREAGH *to Lieutenant-General Sir* JOHN MOORE.

Downing-street, Nov. 14, 1808.

SIR.

" WITH the exception of the four regiments of cavalry, and two troops of horse artillery, which were under orders to em-

From Portugal .	23,745	bark upon the return of the horse
From England .	14,561	transports from Corunna, your
Cavalry, &c. to go	2,760	army, consisting of the number,
	———	stated in the margin, will I trust,
	41,066	by the time this dispatch shall
	———	reach you, have assembled on

such points of the Spanish frontier as may have been concerted with the Spanish Government, and be preparing to advance.

" In entering upon service in Spain, you will keep in mind that the British army is sent by his Majesty as an auxiliary force to support the Spanish nation against the attempts of Buonaparté to effect their subjugation. You will use your utmost exertions to assist the Spanish armies in subduing or expelling the enemy from the Peninsula, and, in the conduct of your command, you will conform to the regulations hereafter stated with respect to the question of military rank, and your intercourse with the Government of Spain.

" In framing these instructions, it is necessary distinctly to provide, first for the case of the Spanish Government having entrusted the command of their armies to a Generalissimo or Commander-in-Chief; and secondly, for the case which has hitherto existed, of distinct armies, each commanded by its own General.

" Should the Spanish Government appoint a Commander-in-Chief of all their armies, the necessity of which appointment every day's experience appears to demonstrate, you will consider yourself as placed under the orders of that officer.

" If the armies, of Spain should remain, as they have hitherto done, under their respective Chiefs, the co-operation of the British army must in that case, remain to be settled as a matter of concert by you with the Commanders of the respective armies of Spain, in connection with whom you may be carrying on operations.

" When the officers of the British and Spanish armies meet on service, they must take rank according to the dates of their respective commissions, without reference to the powers from whom those commissions are derived, provided such commissions are at present acknowledged by the Supreme Government of Spain.

" You are to consider that the British force under your command is intended to act as a field army, to be kept together as far as the circumstances of the war will permit; and that all orders from the Commander-in-Chief, proceeding either directly or through his Staff, are to be given to the British army through you, as its immediate Commander; that it is not to be seperated into detachments, nor any detachment to be made from it but with your entire concurrence, and by your express order. It is not to be employed in garrisons, whereby a material diminution would be made of its effective strength in the field, nor to be occupied in sieges without your particular consent

" Whenever you shall have occasion to make any communication to the Spanish Government, you are to correspond with it through the Minister at Madrid, and all communications from the Spanish Government are to be made through the same channel; and although communications, either from the Spanish Government or the British Minister, are not to be considered by you as in the nature of orders, you will nevertheless receive such requisitions or representations, upon all occasion, with the utmost deference and attention; and in case you shall feel it your duty to dissent from them, you will take care to represent, in the fullest manner, your reasons for so doing, as well to the British Minister, for the information of the Spanish Government, as to the government at home

" You are also to keep up a constant and intimate correspondence with the British Minister, and to co-operate in the most cordial manner with him in carrying on the public service.

" Should any defference of opinion arise on important military subjects between you and the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, you are to consider it your duty to pay obedience, in the first instance, to the orders you may receive; but you will, if you shall think it necessary, make a representation thereupon, through the British Minister, to the Supreme Government of Spain, as also to me, for his Majesty's information.

" As it is of peculiar importance at the present moment, that his Majesty's Government should receive early, regular, and detailed reports of your proceedings, I am to desire that you will make it a rule to address a dispatch to me at least once in every week, or as much oftener as any occurrence of sufficient

importance may arise, always being careful to send duplicates of the preceding dispatch by the subsequent conveyance.

" It will be most grateful to his Majesty to find that the intercourse between the British army and the Spaniards has been invariably distinguished by marks of reciprocal confidence and kindness. His Majesty cannot doubt that the most exemplary discipline will be observed, and his Majesty commands me particularly to enjoin the utmost respect and deference should be shewn by his troops, upon all occasions, towards the manners and customs of the Spanish nation. His Majesty trusts that the example and influence of the officers will be directed to inspire this sentiment throughout every branch of the army.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, K. B. &c.

Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird, furnish us with a complete History of the proceedings from the first march of the army until it was in full retreat; the first account is from Sir John Moore.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Lisbon, Oct. 27.

MY LORD.

" EVERY thing is now clear of Lisbon, except two regiments, which march to-morrow and the day following, and I shall myself leave it in a couple of hours.

" I am under the necessity of sending Lieutenant-General Hope, with the artillery, cavalry, and a corps of infantry, in all about 6,000 men, by the great road leading from Badajos to Madrid, as every information agreed that no other was fit for the artillery, or could be recommended for the cavalry. This is a great round, and will seperate the corps for a time from the rest of the army, but there is no help for it. The road turns to the left a short distance from Madrid, and leads upon Espina, from whence it can be directed upon Valladolid and Burgos, or whatever other place may be judged hereafter best for the assembly of the army.

" Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th inst. but as it had not been previously notified to the Central Junta, he was not permitted to land his troops, until an answer was received from Madrid. I have not heard from Sir David since that answer was returned, but I conclude that he landed on the 21st. I have written to him to march upon Astorga, as soon as his corps is equipped, with the infantry which marched from this direct upon Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. I shall not advance beyond Salamanca until the corps under Baird and Hope approach Astorga and Espina, but shall collect them

in Almedia, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca. This at least is my intention at present, and I shall consider myself fortunate if they reach those places before the first rains, which in general last six or eight days, and fall so heavy, that during their continuance the troops must halt.

"I have directed Sir David Baird to form a small depot of provisions and ammunition at Astorga. I am endeavouring to form one at Almeida; but the difficulty of carriage through Portugal is such, that it is extremely doubtful whether it will be found in time to be of much use. As we advance, Corunna must be the place from whence our supplies from England are drawn; Lisbon and Portugal become then of no use to us. I have, however, under present circumstances, and until the army is united, thought it right to request Sir Charles Cotton not to send home the transports, and to this he has consented, unless he should be otherwise directed from England. Some ordnance and other ships should at any rate be left at Lisbon, for the conveyance of such stores and provisions as may be wanted at Corunna.

"Colonel Lopez, the Officer sent to me from Madrid, was with me two days. He is now gone to aid General Hope's march. He is very confident that we shall not want supplies, and it is upon this general assurance of the Spanish Government, that I am leading the army into Spain without any established magazines. In this situation nothing is more essentially requisite than money, and unfortunately we have been able to procure here very little. Sir David Baird has come without any, and his troops paid only to the 24th of September, and from this we could only send him 8,000l. Mr. Erskine has, I believe, written upon this subject, and I should hope that a supply is now on its passage.

"It is my intention, as soon as I have made the necessary arrangement for the troops at Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, &c. to go for a few days to Madrid; no Commander-in-Chief is yet named; and I fear the consequences, should the French, reinforced, be able to act offensively, and the different Spanish armies continued to be directed by a Council residing at Madrid."

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Honrable Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Salamanca, Nov. 24. 1808.

MY LORD.

"I HAD the honour, upon the 17th instant to receive your Lordship's dispatches of the 2d, conveyed to me by a King's Messenger.

" My letter from Lisbon, of the 27th October would apprise your Lordship, that having concluded every arrangement there, I was about to follow the troops then already upon their march into Spain. As I travelled with my own horses, and was necessarily detained by business at different places upon the road, I did not reach Salamanca until the 13th. On the day following the regiments began to arrive, and continued daily to come in by corps in succession.

" The three divisions of infantry which marched under Lieutenant-General Fraser, Major-Generals Paget and Beresford, are now all here, together with one brigade of artillery, which, with infinite difficulty, followed the road by Abrantes and Castel Branco. One brigade of infantry, which left Lisbon last, is still absent; it is employed in the escort of the ordnance and other stores, which are forwarding for the service of the army.

" The troops have performed this march well in spite of very bad weather, and the worst roads I ever saw; their appearance now is as good, and their fitness for service much better than when they left Lisbon.

" Their conduct upon the march, and since their arrival here, has been exemplary; all this does them honour, and marks strongly the care and attention of the Generals and Officers who conducted the marches, and who are in the immediate command of the troops.

" Lieutenant-General Hope, with the corps which marched from Badajoz, in the direction of Madrid, will arrive, with the head of that division, at Arevelo on the 25th, where I have ordered it to halt and to close up. The first of the troops, under Sir David Baird from Corunna, reached Astorga on the 13th, and the whole, including the 7th, 10th, and 15th Dragoons, will be assembled there about the 5th of December, before which time, General Hope's corps will also be collected at Arevelo.

" If we are not interrupted, the junction of the army will be effected early in the next month. But the French, after beating the army of Estremadura, are advanced at Burgos. General Blake's army in Biscay has been defeated, dispersed, and its officers and soldiers are flying in every direction; and the armies of Castanos and Palafox, on the Ebro and Alagon, are at too great a distance to render me the smallest assistance. Under such circumstances the junction of this army becomes exceedingly precarious, and requires to be conducted with much circumspection. Should the French advance upon us before it is effected, Sir David Baird must retire upon Corunna, and I shall be forced to fall back upon Portugal, or to join General Hope, and retire upon Madrid.

" The information which your Lordship must already be in

possession of renders it perhaps less necessary for me to dwell upon the state of affairs in Spain, so different from that which was to be expected. Had the real strength and composition of the Spanish armies been known, and the defenceless state of the country, I conceive that Cadiz, and not Corunna, would have been chosen for the disembarkation of the troops from England, and Seville or Cordova, not Salamanca, would have been selected as the proper place for the assembling of this army.

"The Spanish Government do not seem ever to have contemplated the possibility of a second attack, and are certainly quite unprepared to meet that which is now made upon them their armies are all inferior even in numbers to the French; that which Blake commanded, including Romana's corps, did not exceed 37,000 men, a great proportion of them mere peasantry. The armies of Castanos and Palafox united do not exceed 40,000, and are not, I suspect, of a better description, and until lately they were much weaker. In the provinces no armed force whatever exists, either for immediate protection or to reinforce their armies. The French cavalry from Burgos, in small detachments, are over-running the province of Leon, raising contributions, to which the inhabitants submit without the least resistance. The enthusiasm of which we have heard so much no where appears; whatever good-will there is (and I believe amongst the lower orders there is a great deal) is taken no advantage of.

"I am at this moment in no communication with any of the Generals commanding the Spanish armies. I am ignorant of their plans, or of those of the Government. General Castanos, with whom after repeated application I was desired to communicate, for the purpose of combining the operations of the British army, was deprived of his command at the moment I had begun my correspondence with him. The Marquis of Romana, who is appointed his successor, is still at St. Ander. It is difficult for me to form any plan for myself beyond the assembly of the army. I shall then be in a state to undertake something: and if the Spaniards, roused by their misfortunes, assemble round us, and become once more enthusiastic and determined, there may still be hopes of expelling the French. It is my wish to lay before your Lordship, for the information of Government, things exactly as they are. It answers no good purpose to represent them otherwise, for it is thus that we must meet them

"I feel no despondency myself, nor do I wish to excite any in others, but our situation is likely soon to become an arduous one. Reverses must be expected, and though I am confident this army will always do its duty, yet ultimate success will depend more upon the Spaniards themselves, and

their enthusiastic devotion to their cause, than on the efforts of the British, who, without such aid, are not sufficiently numerous to resist the armies which will be immediately opposed to them.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Sir DAVID BAIRD, *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Astorga, Nov. 22. 1808.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of addressing your Lordship on the 18th inst. from Lugo, on my road to this place, reporting for your Lordship's information the advices which had just reached me, of the total defeat and dispersion of the army under the orders of General Blake.

"It is with much regret that I have to acquaint your Lordship that the army of Estremadura also experienced a severe defeat at Burgos about the 10th instant, and that in consequence of these successes, the French are collecting and advancing in all directions, as there is no Spanish force on this side capable of opposing the smallest obstacle to their progress. In the Asturias they had advanced on the 19th as far as St. Vincente de la Barquera. The whole of that province is therefore at their mercy, and I feel by no means easy as to the security of my left, which might be turned by the road to Lugo, through Mendonedo; in front they have possessed themselves of Mayorga and Segun, at which places bread for a 11,000 men was ordered to be provided by them on the 20th instant. and they have pushed forward their cavalry as far as the vicinity of Benevente.

"In these circumstances it is totally impossible for me to attempt to join Sir John Moore, whose advance is at Salamanca, until such time as more of my corps is collected and come up, as by making any partial advance of the portion now here at this moment, I should necessarily endanger the safety of the whole. Should I therefore find the enemy approach us in superior numbers, it is my intention to fall back upon Villa Franca. Whether we may be ultimately compelled to evacuate Gallicia or not, I cannot at present say; but it certainly never could be intended, nor is it at all possible for the British troops in Spain to contend singly with the overwhelming force of France, unaided and supported as they are by any vigorous effort on the part of the Spanish nation.

"By a letter I have received from Colonel Graham, of the 90th, regiment, who was at the head-quarters of General Castanos's army on the 1st instant, it appears that he was making a movement to join the army of Arragon under General Pala-

fox, and that the combined force would not excede 30,000 men, independent of two Andalusian divisions, which he had been compelled to leave in the rear, from their total want of clothing. This army, with the small remains of the beaten Estremadurans, I have reason to believe, is the only force the Spaniards have at present in the field. No efforts are making for arming the people, or reinforcing the armies in the country through which we have passed: and Major Stuart, of the 95th, who was dispatched in front of this place to obtain information, reports that the inhabitants appear perfectly depressed by their losses, and seem to abandon all hope of making a successful resistance."

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. BAIRD, Lieut-Gen.

Sir DAVID BAIRD, *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Astorga, Nov. 24, 1808.

MY LORD.

"IT is with infinite regret I am compelled to acquaint your Lordship, that the crisis which I foresaw was approaching, and mentioned in my last letter, has at length arrived. The army of General Blake being totally defeated and dispersed, the Estremaduran corps routed and dissipated, and my communication with Sir John Moore in all probability at this moment intercepted and cut off, I feel myself reduced to the distressing necessity of falling back upon Gallicia for the preservation of my corps.

By a letter I received from the Lieutenant-General dated from Salamanca on the 15th instant, he apprised me of his intention of commencing his retreat upon Ciudad Rodrigo, the instant the enemy had passed Valladolid in force. Of this having occurred I have at this moment little reason to doubt; and I am consequently led to conclude he is now falling back; and as by his instructions, I am directed to look solely to the safety of my corps the moment all chance of effecting a junction is at an end, by retreating upon the most convenient point for embarkation, I am now compelled to make arrangements for retiring upon Vigo. Should our re-embarkation become eventually necessary, of which I confess I have little doubt, I have been led to select this place in preference either to Corunna or Ferrol, because the former town is not tenable for an instant, and the anchorage is completely commanded from the shore. which is also the case with the latter; in addition to which objections the entrance to the port is so narrow, that without a leading wind, a fleet might be detained there for a very considerable time.

"Vigo is represented to be in every respect a more con-

venient place for embarkation, where, in the event of adverse winds a fleet might lie in safety out of reach of all molestation from the shore; it also affords a chance of embarking the cavalry and artillery horses, as there is a chance of occupying Betanzos until the rival of horse ships from England, or even of transporting to the Betanzos Islands the horses which might be foraged from the ships now laden at Corunna.

"In the last communication I received from Sir John Moore, he suggested the idea of the cavalry being sent by land through Portugal, should the infantry be compelled to embark and proceed by sea to Lisbon; but as he left the arrangement entirely to my discretion, it is my intention, on many accounts, to avoid doing so. The cavalry will be required in the first instance to cover the infantry, until such time as we get within the passes of Gallicia, although I am doubtful of its arriving in time to effect that object, as the rear of it will not reach the place before the 4th of December. In marching to Lisbon, it would necessarily have to pass by St. Jago Tuy, and all along the sea coast. No magazines are established, or can be in time on this route; nor can a corps of cavalry, unsupported by infantry, undertake to march through an extremely difficult country, which, supposing only common activity in the enemy, would be occupied by their infantry, which if in force would have ample opportunity of seriously molesting, if not of entirely annihilating it.

"Under these circumstances, I have determined, by the advice of my General Officers, that in the event of finding it impracticable to join Sir John Moore, without seriously committing the safety of the corps, of which junction I have at this moment no right to entertain a hope, I should retire with my whole corps upon Vigo, where I shall most anxiously await the arrival of transports for 2,000 horses, which will be all that is requisite, as those which brought the 15th, I have requested Rear-Admiral De Courcy to detain, and where I shall attend your Lordship's orders respecting my further proceedings.

"By a letter from the Asturian Junta, the enemy appears to be making rapid advances in that province, subsequent information having been received of their success in the attack upon St. Vincente de la Barquera and Colombres.

"It is very remarkable that none of the Spanish Ministers or Generals have afforded me the least information, or been in any sort of communication with me. From Sir John Moore's letters, it appears that he is similarly situated. This silence on their part is a very great disadvantage, as the intelligence we obtain is consequently vague and often contradictory. It must be needless for me to mention, that every effort will be used on my part to prevent the necessity of having recourse to

the measure of re-embarking the division, but I must solicit your Lordship to send me the horse transports as speedily as possible, in case of our being compelled to evacuate Gallicia."

(Signed) D. BAIRD, Lieut Gen.

Sir DAVID BAIRD, *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Astorga, Nov. 28, 1808.

MY LORD,

"AFTER having experienced much anxiety on account of my not having heard from Sir John Moore for the space of five days, I had the satisfaction to find, by a letter I received from him this morning, that the communication between this place and Salamanca, which, from the reports I had received, I had reason to believe had been cut off, was still open. I therefore still entertain the hope that our junction may be effected, and have made arrangements for making a movement in front to accomplish that object, should nothing intervene to prevent it.

"The Marquis de la Romana is at Leon, for the purpose of endeavouring to collect the dispersed and scattered remains of the broken army lately under the command of General Blake. At an interview I had with him this morning he expressed a hope, that, in the course of about eight days, he should be able to collect about 10,000 men for the purpose of joining the British; from what I have had an opportunity of observing, however, little dependence can be placed upon any reinforcements he could bring, as the Spanish army on this side is completely disorganized, and totally devoid of order.

"The Marquis informed me, that from the intelligence he had received, he was inclined to believe, that the principal part of the French force in Spain was at present employed against the armies of Generals Castanos and Palafox. Of their success, I fear little doubt can be entertained, in which case the British will probably have afterwards to sustain the undivided efforts of the French army, unsupported by the Spaniards, who could then have no force in the field capable of affording any essential aid to our operations.

"I have just received intelligence that Buonaparté arrived on the 5th of this month at Vittoria."

I have honour to be, &c.

D. BAIRD, Lieut. Gen.

CHAPTER VIII.

Inauspicious Symptoms.—Sir John Moore Resolves to retreat.—His Reasons.—Proceedings of General Hope.—Lord Paget.—Marquis Romana, &c.—Intercepted Letter from Berthier.—Skirmishes and Miscarriages on the Retreat.—General Lefebre taken.—Advance to Corunna.

WHAT has been said of the want of intelligence does not apply to the Spanish Generals exclusively; up to the 24th of November, the British Commanders were ignorant of what the French had been doing in Navarre and Arragon. In a country which the English Journalists represented as inhabited only by a high spirited race, who were, to a man, devoted to the freedom and glory of their country, the apathy was so profound and impenetrable, that neither the love of friends, the hatred of enemies, the desire of gain, nor even common curiosity, could be pressed into service to add wings to the ordinary speed, which occurrences usually travel at in that land of sloth and indifference. It is below the dignity of History to resort to vulgar similes and low proverbs, and we have always abstained from the practice through the course of our Work, unless, in some few cases, when we have been desirous to have a strong practical inference drawn from the fact under narration, and then we have endeavoured by a familar attack upon the reader's attention, to secure a lodgement in his retentive faculties; consistently with our practice, we cannot help here drawing a comparison between the Spanish people and the Irishman, who, when he

was aroused by the intelligence that the house he inhabited was in flames, took no interest in the event because he was only a lodger. The Spaniards in general feel that whoever conquers, their condition cannot be worse; they look upon their country as the theatre upon which the French and English choose to fight their battles, and as will appear by what follows, they do not seem very prodigal of kindness to either.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Salamanca, Nov. 29, 1808.

"I RECEIVED yesterday evenin; a letter from Mr. Stuart, inclosing one from Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle, from Saragossa, announcing the total defeat of the army of Castanos and Palafox. My junction with Sir David Baird, which was always extremely doubtful, though I was determined to try it, is become, I conceive, quite impracticable; but if this army could be united, after the specimens we have had of the very little resistance offered by the Spaniards, What chance has this army alone of resisting the formidable numbers which will be immediately brought against it? I conceive the British troops were sent in aid of the Spanish armies, but not singly to resist France, if the Spaniards made no efforts. By persevering longer, I shall certainly sacrifice the army, without benefiting Spain. I have therefore determined to retire. I have ordered Sir David Baird to fall back on Corunna, and General Hope to endeavour, by forced marches, to join me at this place. There is a considerable chance that he may be intercepted, or that he may be obliged to fall back through the Guadarama on Madrid. I shall remain here as long as I can; or may make a movement to my right, to protect General Hope; but I shall immediately take measures to retreat by Cuidad Rodrigo, and enter the frontier of Portugal.

"I shall be in want of provisions there for so large a corps; but my object will be to remain on the frontier as long as possible to cover Lisbon, the embarkation of stores, &c.

"But the Spaniards may still give the French more occupation; and the difficulties of the country, the swelling of the rivers, &c. may prevent the French from pushing us much, and enable me to stand for a time. This time can only be well employed in withdrawing the army which can do no good here, but which (if the Spaniards roused, with an able man at their head, are able to collect, and to make battle from the South,) being landed at Cadiz, may still be useful.

I have desired Sir David, therefore, to repair, when embarked, to the Tagus, and I should hope that your Lordship will immediately order a sufficient number of transports from England to receive the army. When I left Lisbon there was tonnage there for 12,000 men. I shall propably have an opportunity of writing to you again very soon, but I was anxious not to detain Mr. Vaughan, who carries this, and who brought me Mr. Stuart's letter from Madrid. I shall anxiously wait for your Lordship's answer, and hope to find that the decision I have made meets the approbation of his Majesty's Government."

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

"I shall write to the General Commanding in Portugal, to receive back immediately the stores of the army, and to send provisions to Abrantes and Oporto for this army. He will provision and make dispositions to aid us in covering Lisbon.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Salamanca, Dec. 5, 1808.

"I HAD the honour to address your Lordship on the 29th of November, and to inform you with the determination I had come to in consequence of the defeat of the army of General Castanos. Lieutenant-General Hope, with the division he commands, marched by Avila to avoid the superior cavalry of the enemy in the plain, and reached Alba de Tormes, four leagues from this yesterday. His junction is thus secured, and I am now preparing to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo.

"The enemy has directed his whole force towards Madrid, which will probably give me time to reach Portugal unmolested. Buonaparte is at Aranda de Douro: reinforcements join him daily.

"The French attacked and carried the pass of Soma Sierra on the 29th, which opens to them that of the Guadarama, and they are in possession of Segovia. The few Spanish corps opposed to them, are composed of fugitives collected from the beaten armies, and they offer no resistance. I have had no communication with Madrid since the 30th of November; the inhabitants had taken up arms; were barricadoing the streets, and expressed a determination to die rather than to submit. How long the populace of a large town are likely to persevere in such resolutions, or how long they will be able to withstand the formidable attack made against them, I cannot say.

"Your Lordship may believe that it was not without much

reflection, and extreme reluctance, that I determined to withdraw the army from Spain, and to abandon a cause, for the success of which the Government are so much interested, and the public mind so highly exalted.

' As long as there remained an army, and any hope of resistance on the part of the Spaniards, I was determined to persevere, at all risks, in the junction of the army; and then, if General Castanos had received a check, or been forced to retreat, it was my intention, if nothing better offered, to march upon Madrid, from whence, getting behind the Tagus, we should have given the Spaniards an opportunity of rallying around us, and have shared their fortunes. This intention I mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 24th, and I imparted it as a question to Mr. Frere for his opinion. But the sudden defeat of General Castanos's army left nothing either to aid me or to prevent the further progress of the enemy.

" The British army was at that moment on its march to collect at this place and Astorga. General Hope, with the head of his division, was at Villa Castrin, and from the collected manner in which it was necessary for him to march he could not have joined me sooner than he has done. Sir David Baird's corps could not be collected at Astorga before the 4th of this month; it was thus impossible for this army to have been united before the 13th or 14th, and still later before it could be ready to undertake an offensive movement. This time was more than sufficient to enable the enemy to finish the destruction of what little Spanish force remained, and to turn the greatest part of his army against the British, which when united, does not exceed 26,000 men, but which probably he would be able to attack whilst detached and separated. I consider the British army as standing alone; that its union could not be attempted without great hazard; or, if effected, that it could not withstand the great force that would be brought against it. It was vain, I thought, to expect that under such circumstances it could retrieve the Spanish cause; and though I knew the army would cheerfully attempt whatever I ordered, I thought my duty called upon me not to expose it to a contest in which its best efforts could not promise to be successful. It may fairly be said that the British army never reached Spain; it cannot, in the true sense, be called an army until it is united and prepared to act; the Spanish forces were defeated, and their cause lost, before the British so constituted could come to their assistance.

" I feel the weight of the responsibility which has fallen to me. I had nothing but difficulties to choose; whether I have chosen the least, and that which will be the least disapproved by his Majesty and my country, I cannot determine; my

wish has been to decide right. I reflected well upon the different duties I had to discharge; and if I have decided wrong, it can only be because I am not gifted with that judgment which was imputed to me when I was entrusted with this important command."

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Salamanca, Dec. 10, 1808.

"COLONEL Graham, whom I had sent to Madrid, returned to me last night; he could only get as far as Talavera de la Reyna, where he found the Members of the Supreme Junta, who informed him that Madrid had capitulated on the 3rd. The Duke of Castlefranco and M. de Morla, who were at the head of the Junta established at Madrid, are accused by the people of having betrayed them. Castellar the Captain-General, and all the military officers of rank, refused to ratify the treaty, and left the town with sixteen pieces of cannon; the people refuse to give up their arms, but the French have the gates, the Retiro and Prado. Saragossa still holds out, and it is said that on the 1st they repulsed the French, who had made a general attack. It is said that attempts are making to assemble a great force in the South. I dare say the force will be assembled; but the efforts it will make when assembled, I must think, are very doubtful. There is, however, a chance, and whilst there is that, I think myself bound to run all risks to support the Spaniards. I am now differently situated from what I was when Castanos was defeated. I have been joined by General Hope, the artillery, and all the cavalry, (Lord Paget, with three regiments, is at Toro;) and my junction with Sir David Baird is secure, though I have not heard from him since I ordered him to return to Astorga. Madrid, though it has capitulated, must still engage a considerable part of the enemy's force. Saragossa is also a considerable diversion, and the collections forming in the South cannot be neglected. All his force cannot thus be directed against me. The corps collected under the Marquis de la Romana, at Leon, is, I am told by Sir David Baird, very bad. I shall, however, connect myself with it, and I mean to move to Valladolid, where I shall order Baird to join me, and which neighbourhood I hope also that la Romana will advance. This movement I shall begin to morrow, by sending two corps to join Lord Paget at Toro. Generals Hope and Fraser, from Alba de Tormes and this place, shall move on Tordesillas, and I should hope on the 14th to

be at Valladolid. My communication, when there, will become uncertain with Almeida and Portugal, from whence all my stores are not yet forwarded; but I must take my chance; I shall be in fortun's way; if she smiles we may do some good; if not, we shall still, I hope, have the merit of having done all we could. The army for its numbers is excellent, and is, I am confident, quite determined to do its duty. I have had a letter from Sir John Cradock from Corunna; he was proceeding to Lisbon; he has landed part of the money from the Lavinia there, and will land the rest at Oporto or Lisbon. I have begged of him to bring the two regiments from Gibraltar to the Tagus.

The horses and harness of the waggon train will be useful, but their waggons are heavy and bad; those we got in the country are more convenient. I should therefore propose to leave the waggons at home, and send the rest of that establishment only.

Until affairs in Spain bear a more promising aspect, I should think your Lordship will approve of keeping at Corunna or Lisbon, a sufficient quantity of transports, for the re-embarkation of the army.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Toro, Dec. 16, 1808.

"I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 3rd of December, with enclosures, forwarded to me by a King's messenger, who reached me on the night of the 13th at Aluejos, the head-quarters of the army, after its first march from Salamanca. I was to have proceeded on the 15th to Valladolid, which place I should have reached the next day, when I received the letter of which I send your Lordship a copy. It is from Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel, to Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia. The officer who was charged with it was murdered by some peasants near Valdesillas, between Segovia and Valladolid, who brought the letter to our advanced posts, to Brigadier-General Charles Stewart. I was determined by the information it contained, to prefer the speedy union of the army to every other object, and therefore, instead of marching to Valladolid, I marched to this place. I had already directed Sir David Baird to push on his corps by brigades to Benevente. The first arrived there yesterday, and the brigade of Guards will reach it this day. I shall march from this to-morrow to some villages within two or three leagues of Benevente. I shall there be so close as to

be able to protect Sir David Baird's junction, and make it perfectly secure: it will be the 20th before all his corps are up. If then, Marshal Soult is so good as to approach us, we shall be much obliged to him, but if not we shall march towards him. It will be very agreeable to give a blow to such a corps; although with respect to the cause, generally, it will probably have no effect, Spain being in the state described by Berthier's letter.

"The French seem to have been ill informed of our movements; they are, however, now acquainted with them, as our advanced posts have met, and Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, with a detachment of the 18th dragoons, on the night of the 12th, surprised a detachment of their cavalry and infantry in the village of Rueda, and killed and took prisoners the greatest part of them. The affair was trifling, but was managed by the Brigadier-General with much address, and was executed with spirit by the officers and men. It was a detachment from Valladolid, where General Franceschi commanded with 3 or 400 cavalry. He had no knowledge of our being so near, and would not believe one of the men who escaped from the village in the dark, and carried to him the report of the surprise and defeat of the detachment. Whether, when Buonaparte hears that we have not retired to Lisbon, he will give to the troops on their march to Badajos a different direction, I cannot say; but whilst I march towards Soult, I must take care not too much to uncover Astorga, and the passes into Gallicia, from whence in future I must draw all my stores, and through which, ultimately, if pressed, I can alone retreat. Should, therefore, on my approach, Soult retire towards Burgos to join Junot, who is on his march to that place with the 8th corps, I shall of course be forced to desist and to return to this neighbourhood. If I beat Soult, unless the victory has the effect to rouse the Spaniards, it will be attended with no other advantage than the character it will attach to the British arms.

"I have apprised Sir John Cradock of Buonaparte's march to Badajos, which has since been confirmed to me by a man who left Talavera after his advanced guard had entered it. I have told him that in case of retreat mine will be through Gallicia; and I have begged of him, after selecting the quantity of tonnage necessary for the embarkation of the troops in Portugal, to send the rest to Vigo, to wait my orders. The Lieutenant-General will communicate to your Lordship the quantity of tonnage he sends to Vigo, when you will be able to judge the quantity necessary to be sent there from England, should the re-embarkation of his army become necessary. Your Lordship must see the probability of such an event, and will, I fancy, think it right to have the means upon the spot. Should this army retire into Gallicia, and remain

in it any time, I understand from Sir David Baird, that we shall want flour, which I should hope you will send from England. With respect to the propriety of sending reinforcements, I must leave your Lordship to determine. If at this moment I had 7 or 8,000 cavalry, I could certainly do much. If we retire into the Gallicias, they would be an incumbrance, and to enable us to keep our ground in Spain, the reinforcements of both cavalry, infantry, and artillery, must be considerable indeed. I shall endeavour to give your Lordship from time to time every information, and must then leave you to form your own determination. It is a subject upon which you can form as good a judgment as the best military man.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

"I received a letter on the 13th from the Marquis de la Romana, in which he says, he will send an officer to me, as he does not choose to trust to paper, by a messenger, the subject he has to communicate. This officer is not yet come; the Marquis is still at Leon, he says with 20,000 men, 3,000 of whom have no arms. J. M.

Intercepted Letter above alluded to from BERTHIER *to the Duke of* DALMATIA (SOULT.)

Chamartin, Dec. 10, 1808.

SIR,

"I HAVE read to the Emperor your letter of the 4th of December, which was brought by one of your officers. His Majesty approves of every thing you have done. The 8th regiment of Dragoons, the 22nd of Chasseurs, the regiment of Colonel Tascher, and the Hanoverian regiment, form two brigades commanded by the Generals of Brigade de Velle and Franceschi; these two brigades of cavalry are under your orders, and you are at liberty to manœuvre them as you may judge expedient. The Emperor is of opinion that with the two divisions of Merle and Monton, and the four regiments of cavalry, nothing can resist you.

What have you to do? to make yourself master of Leon, to drive the enemy into Gallicia, and to seize upon Benevente and Zamora. You ought not to have any English troops in your front, as some regiments are come to the Escurial and Salamanca, and every thing inclines us to think that they are in full retreat; our advanced guard is this day at Talavera de la Reyna, on the road to Badajos, and it will be soon in that city.

"You are aware that this movement will force the English to fall back upon Lisbon (if it has not already done so.) As soon as you shall be certain that there are no English in your front (as there is every reason to expect,) you will be enabled

to proceed without any interruption. As to the Spaniards, none of them can maintain themselves against your two divisions. You will cause shoes and great coats to be made at Leon, St. Ander, and Palencia. His Majesty approves of all the requisitions you may make, having in view the improvement of your You may likewise make a requisition of mules to re-mount your artillery, and of horses to re-mount your cavalry. In all these transactions, you will do every thing which can promote good management. It is possible that as soon as General Miller's division of dragoons shall arrive in Spain, the Emperor will send it to you, but it will not arrive in Spain for at least fifteen days.

At the distance you are from us, you must exercise your own discretion in all your proceedings, and you will consider what I write to you only a general instruction. His Majesty thinks you will take every measure to reduce the country between the Duero, and Gallicia and the Asturias, at all times sedulously guarding St. Ander. The 5th corps, commanded by the Duke of Treviso, has been ordered to proceed to Saragossa. The 8th corps, (under the command of the Duke of Abrantes,) the first division of which will arrive at Vittoria about the 12th, will probably receive orders to unite at Burgos.

"Armed vessels of every description have been directed to repair to St. Ander; you will cause them to be laden with English merchandize which has been seized with cotton, wool, artillery, &c. and you will have them sent to France. Lastly, you will keep Valladolid and Zamora in subjection. Valladolid is a fine city, and has conducted itself well: it is said that it would be important to occupy Zamora. Finally, Sir, the Emperor thinks that you may do every thing from the moment the English retire upon Lisbon. Five divisions belonging to Castanos, composed of the best troops, have been routed still more easily than you routed the army of Andalusia at Burgos. The remains of the army of Castanos are pursued by Marshal Bessieres, who has cut them off from the Estremaduran road, and is pursuing them several days march beyond the Tagus. The Emperor's head-quarters are at Chamartin, a little more than a league and a half from Madrid. His Majesty enjoys the most perfect health. The city of Madrid is very tranquil; the shops are open, the theatrical amusements have been resumed, and you would not suppose that the first conferences had been accompanied by 4,000 discharges of cannon.

(Signed) The Prince of NEUFCHATEL, Major-Gen.

"I will send you to-morrow the Proclamation and Decrees issued by the Emperor. You will there recognize him as formed for universal command."

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Benevente, Dec. 28, 1808.

MY LORD,

"SINCE I had the honour to address you upon the 16th from Toro, the army has been almost constantly marching through snow, and with cold that has been very intense; the weather within these few days has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almost impassable. On the 21st the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there, in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information I received was that Marshal Soult was at Saldana with about 16,000 men, with posts along the river from Guada to Carrion. The army was ordered to march in two columns at eight o'clock on the night of the 23rd, to force the bridge of Carrion, and from thence to proceed to Saldana. At six o'clock that evening I received information that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia, and a letter from the Marquis la Romana informed me that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid or Salamanca. It was evident that it was too late to prosecute the attempt upon Soult, that I must be satisfied with the diversion I had occasioned, and that I had no time to lose to secure my retreat. The next morning General Hope, with his own division, and that of Lieutenant-General Fraser, marched to Mayorga. I sent Sir David Baird with his division to pass the river at Valencia, and I followed General Hope on the 25th, with the reserve and light brigades, by Mayorga and Valderes to Benevente. The cavalry under Lord Paget followed the reserve on the 26th, both the latter corps entered this place yesterday. We continue our march on Astorga; Generals Hope and Fraser are already gone on. Sir David Baird proceeds to-morrow from Valencia; I shall leave this with the reserve at the same time. Lord Paget will remain with the cavalry, to give us notice of the approach of the enemy. Hitherto their infantry have not come up, but they are near, and the cavalry is around us in great numbers. They are checked by our cavalry, which have obtained, by their spirit and enterprise, an ascendancy over that of the French, which nothing but great superiority of numbers on their part will get the better of. The diversion made by our march on Sahagun, though at a great risk to ourselves, has been complete; it remains to be seen what advantage the Spaniards in the South will be able to take of it. But the march of the French on Badajos was stopped when its advanced guard had reached Talavera de la Reina, and every

thing disposable is now turned in this direction. The stores I had collected here are moving back to Astorga, and those at Astorga to Villa Franca. The roads are very bad, and the means of carriages scanty. If I am pressed, I must lose some of them, and I may be forced to fight a battle; this, however, I shall endeavour to avoid, for certainly in the present state of things it is more Buonaparte's game than mine. It is said that he comes himself with 10,000 of his guards. The force moving against us cannot be less than 50,000 men; we shall, when at Astorga, be about 27,000. The Marquis la Romana came forward to Mansilla with 6,000, to co-operate with me on the attack on Soult; I therefore conclude that he cannot have above 8,000 fit for action. The country about Astorga offers no advantage to an inferior army. I shall therefore not stop there longer than to secure the stores, and shall retreat to Villa Franca, where I understand there is a position. But if the French pursue, I must hasten to the coast, for there is a road to Orenza, which leads more direct to Vigo, and which of course renders the position at Villa Franca of no avail.

Some time ago, when I was advancing to Sahagun, the Marquis la Romana intimated his intention of retiring into the Gallicias by Astorga and Villa Franca, I endeavoured to dissuade him from it, pointing out to him that it was the only communication we had for our retreat or supplies, and begged that it might be left open to us. He stopped his retreat for the moment, but I much fear he will now prosecute it, in which case I know not how it will be possible for us to pass.

I had the honour to receive your Lordship's dispatches of the 10th by Captain Hardinge yesterday morning. I shall be guided by circumstances, and shall not, you may rest assured, retreat an inch beyond what I am compelled to do; but I fear if I am once forced into the mountains, that the want of the means of subsistence will make it necessary to proceed down to the coast, to be provisioned from the ships. I need hardly add the necessity of sending immediately the means of transport to re embark the army at Vigo or Corunna. The only part of the army which has hitherto been engaged with the enemy has been the cavalry, and it is impossible for me to say too much in their praise. I mentioned to your Lordship, in my letter of the 16th, the success Brigadier-General Stewart had met with in defeating a detachment of cavalry at Reuda. Since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them. On the march to Sahagun, Lord Paget had information of 6 or 700 cavalry being in that town. He marched on the night of the 20th from some villages where he was posted in front of the

army at Mayorga, with the 10th and 15th hussars; the 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget with the 15th endeavoured to turn it; unfortunately he fell in with a patrole, one of whom escaped and gave the alarm; by this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town, before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them, beat them, and took from 140 to 150 prisoners, amongst who were 2 Lieutenant-Colonels and 11 Officers; with the loss on our part of 6 or 8 men, and perhaps 20 wounded. There have been taken by the cavalry from 4 to 500 French, besides a considerable number killed; this since we began our march from Salamanca. On his march from Sahagun, on the 26th, Lord Paget, with two squadrons of the 10th, attacked a detachment of cavalry, at Mayorga, killed 20 and took above 100 prisoners. Our cavalry is very superior in quality to any the French have, and the right spirit has been infused into them, by the example and instruction of their two leaders, Lord Paget and Brigadier-General Stewart."

I have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE.

Rt. Hon. Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLERAGH.

Astorga, Dec. 31, 1808.

"I ARRIVED here yesterday, where I found the Marquis la Romana with a great part of his troops. With respect to me, my Lord, and the British troops, it is come to that point which I have long foreseen. From a desire to do what I could, I made the movement against Soult; as a diversion, it has answered completely, but as there is nothing to take advantage of it, I have risked the loss of the army for no purpose. I have no option now, but to fall down to the coast as fast as I am able. I found no provisions here: the little which had been collected had been consumed by Sir David Baird's corps in their passage, and there is not two days bread to carry us to Villa Franca. I have been forced to push on the troops by divisions, without stopping. General Fraser, with his division will be at Villa Franca this day, and will proceed on to Lugo. General Hope, with his division, stopped yesterday two leagues from this, and proceeds this morning, followed by Sir David Baird. The two flank brigades go by the road of Ponferrada; I shall follow with the reserve and cavalry to Villa Franca, either this night or to-morrow morning, according as I hear of the approach of the French. There is no means of carriage; the people run away; the villages are deserted; and I have been obliged to destroy great part of the ammunition and military stores; for the same reason I have been obliged to leave the sick; in

short, my sole object is to save the army. We must all make forced marches to the coast, from the scarcity of provisions, and to be before the enemy, who by roads upon our flanks, may otherwise interrupt us; but, after a time, the same difficulties which affect us, must affect him; therefore, the rear once passed Villa Franca, I do not expect to be molested. I hope to find on the coast transports for the embarkation of the troops; if not, I hope to be able to take up some position which I can maintain until they arrive. It is not probable that we can be followed by the numbers which are now marching against us; and once collected upon the coast, we shall certainly not allow ourselves to be molested by any thing like equal numbers; it is only whilst retreating that we are vulnerable.

"I have heard of some dispatches of your Lordship to me, intrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Chabot, but he has been sent into Portugal, and I have not received them.

"The morning I marched from Benevente, some squadrons of Buonaparté's guards passed the river at a ford; above the bridge they were attacked by Brigadier-General Stewart, at the head of picquets of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, and driven across the ford. Their Colonel, a General of Division, Lefebvre, was taken, together with about 70 officers and men. The affair was well contested; the numbers with which General Stewart attacked were inferior to the French. It is the corps of the greatest character in their army; but the superiority of the British, was I am told, conspicuous.

"I send the French General Lefebvre to Corunna, to be forwarded to England. He is a young man, and I should suppose from the station he held, a personal favourite of Buonaparté."

JOHN MOORE.

Rt. Hon. Viscount Castlereagh &c.

Sir JOHN MOORE *to Viscount* CASTLEREAGH.

Corunna, Jan. 13.

"SITUATED as this army is at present, it is impossible for me to detail to your Lordship the events which have taken place since I had the honour to address you from Astorga, on the 31st of December: I have therefore determined to send to England Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, as the officer best qualified to give you every information you can want, both in respect to our actual situation and the events which have led to it. . . . .

"Your Lordship knows, that had I followed my own opinion, as a military man, I should have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spanish armies were then beaten:

there was no Spanish force to which we could unite; and I was satisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us, or to favour the cause in which they were engaged.

"I was sensible, however, that the apathy and indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat, and it was necessary to risk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. It was for this reason that I made the march to Sahagan. As a diversion, it succeeded: I brought the whole disposeable force of the French against this army, and it has been allowed to follow me, without a single movement being made to favour my retreat. The people of the Gallicias, though armed, made no attempt to stop the passage of the French through the mountains. They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the smallest aid to the army. The consequence has been, that our sick have been left behind; and when our horses or mules failed, which on such marches, and through such a country, was the case to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, stores, &c. and even money, were necessarily destroyed or abandoned.

"I am sorry say, that the army, whose conduct I had such reason to extol on its march through Portugal, and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character since it began to retreat. I can say nothing in its favour, but that when there was a prospect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly, and seemed pleased and determined to do their duty. In front of Villa Franca, the French came up with the reserve, with which I was covering the retreat of the army; they attacked it at Calcabellos. I retired, covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herresias, and from thence to Nogales and Lugo, where I had ordered the different divisions which preceded to halt and collect. At Lugo, the French again came up with us. They attacked our advanced posts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulsed in both attempts, with little loss on our side. I heard from prisoners taken, that the divisions of the French army were come up, commanded by Marshal Soult; I therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was my wish to come to that issue: I had perfect confidence in the valour of the troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that we could hope either to retreat or to embark unmolested. I made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. This was not Marshal Soult's object. He either did not think himself sufficiently strong, or he wished to play a surer game by attacking us on our march

or during our embarkation. The country was intersected, and his position too strong for me to attack with an inferior force. The want of provisions would not enable me to wait longer, I marched that night; and in two forced marches, by advancing for six or eight hours in the rain, I reached Betanzos on the 10th inst.

"At Lugo, I was sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo, which was at too great a distance, and offered no advantages to embark in the face of the enemy. My intention was then to have retreated to the peninsula of Betanzos, where I hoped to find a position to cover the embarkation of the army in Ares or Redes Bays; but having sent an officer to reconnoitre it, by his report I was determined to prefer this place. I gave notice to the Admiral of my intention, and begged that the transports might be brought to Corunna: had I found them here on my arrival on the 11th, the embarkation would easily have been effected, for I had gained several marches on the French. They have now come up with us; the transports are not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one; and this place, if I am forced to retire into it, is commanded within musket-shot, and the harbour will be so commanded by the cannon on the coast, that no ship will be able to lay in it. In short, my Lord, General Stewart will inform you how critical our situation is. It has been recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly; in which case he gets us out of the country soon, and this place, with its stores, &c. complete; that otherwise, we have the power to make a long defence, which must cause the destruction of the town. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but whatever I resolve on this head, I hope your Lordship will rest assured, that I shall accept no terms that are in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country. I find I have been led into greater length, and more detail, than I thought I should have had time for; I have written under interruptions, and with my mind much occupied with other matter. My letter, written so carelessly, can only be considered as private. When I have more leisure, I shall write more correctly; in the mean time, I rely on General Stewart for giving your Lordship the information and detail which I have omitted. I should regret his absence, for his services have been very distinguished; but the state of his eyes makes it impossible for him to serve, and this country is not one in which cavalry can be of much use. If I succeed in embarking the army, I shall send it to England; it is quite unfit for further service until it has been refitted, which can best be done there."

JOHN MOORE.

Rt. Hon. Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

On Military Devastations.—Plunder of the Palace Del Infantado.—Reflections on the conduct of the Soldiery.—The British suffer no inglorious Loss.—Battle of Corunna.—Death of Sir John Moore.—Embarkation of the Army.—Capitulation of Corunna.—English Narrative.—French Narrative.

THE retreat from Villa Franca was most calamitous and disorderly; the troops were mortified beyond measure at being obliged to fly before the enemy; and having acquired a contempt for the natives, to whose inertness they attributed the successes of the French, they were guilty of many excesses towards their allies, that could not have been excused even in a hostile country. Military order became more lax than is usual even in a retreat; and had Sir John Moore survived, it is evident from the animadversions he has left behind him, that he would have reproached the soldierly most bitterly for its base and disorderly conduct.

Whilst pointing our strictures against those untoward occurrences, we are however obliged in candour to make a distinction between the calamities inseperable from a state of war, and those which are inflicted by the vices of its agents.—Among the unfortunate incidents of this retreat, those which were the most striking and injurious in their consequences, were the entire destruction of some villages by fire and the plundering of the palace and castle of the Duke del Infantado, one of the most zealous patriots and partizans of England. These were supposed to have

been outrages committed by the soldiers from revenge, and to give eclat to the indignation they felt for the neglect they had experienced, an inference which we have the best reasons in the world for knowing to be erroneous: they were altogether matter of accident, and whatever of personal censure belongs to the occasion, belongs to the Spaniards themselves, who abandoned the soil at the moment when it demanded their utmost care.

The Duke's tenantry and servants fled at the approach of the army; the troops harrassed and fatigued with their march,—now drenched by the torrents of rain,—then perishing with cold and privation, and afterwards crippled by the badness of the roads, could meet no friendly hand to make a fire to dry their garments or to guide any one to a truss of straw whereon to rest his head. The enemy allowed them no time to pay a very delicate attention to the extinguishment of the flames they had been obliged to kindle, and the ordinary casualties attendant upon any scene of widely extended confusion, offered sufficient grounds upon which to account for the devastation, without leaving it necessary to resort to any vicious feeling for the purpose.

In war many of the ravages that take place are occasioned by the perverseness, or to say the least, by the exaggerated fears of the people, who are the ultimate sufferers. If the soldiers find towns and villages deserted, at the moment when they expect to find the small portion of comfort that they dare calculate upon, they must be something more than men to bear their disappointments with good humour. War is in itself a great calamity; and those who cause it, be they conquerors or drivellers, men of genius or idiots, ought to be regarded as the scourges of mankind, and as the greatest curse that heaven has suffered

to visit the earth; but the consequences must be submitted to with patience and resignation, or like every other evil they will be increased by resistance.

When soldiers arrive, the best way to purchase their forbearence, especially in a retreat, when strict discipline cannot be enforced is to treat them with civility and kindness. From the English army there is less reason to fly than from some other armies, because it is their general practice to pay for what they receive if it be provided cheerfully.

If there is any circumstance to plead in favour of the people in the instance alluded to, it is the brutal character of the English soldiery, which answers exactly to that which the London newspapers falsely give to the French; every body that has seen the difference between the French and English soldiers abroad knows, that that contrast can only be expressed by comparing the former to a gentleman, and the latter to a blackguard. Some of the English soldiers like the French, make a civil return for kindness, but in general they have all the drunkenness and grossness that belongs to the English, even when under the restraints of law, and add to these the lasciviousness and brutality which all ignorant and savage fellows think war gives them a right to indulge in, when power puts other men's wives and daughters into their hands.

It would, perhaps, have been fortunate if the English generals who have complained so openly of their men, had gone more into the particulars of their conduct, the contrast between them and the French might then perhaps have put some of the libellers of the London press to the shame that they deserve, whilst the catalogue of their real transgressions might have operated a reform that would save the future historian the trouble

of defending the army from the imputation of a false one.

The enemy's advanced guard frequently approached the British rear, and wherever the latter was obliged to make a stand it was always triumphant, by blowing up bridges and burning towns and magazines that lay in the enemy's way so many obstructions were opposed to his passage that he was utterly unable to cut off the retreat of the British. Napoleon's own accounts will prove all this, notwithstanding a few occasional flourishes necessary to keep up the triumphant style he had been accustomed to send, by which he represented a few slight skirmishes in the light of battles and victories. His success was ample both on the east and west of the Peninsula; and had his Bulletins contained the mere memoirs of the events that attended the two armies from Astorga to Corunna, without comment or embellishment, they might have satisfied the most rapacious devourer of good fortune. The English were indeed defeated, but not by the French armies.

TWENTY-FIFTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Benevente, Jan. 5.

"His Majesty being informed that the English army was reduced to less that 20,000 men, resolved upon moving his head-quarters from Astorga to Benevente, where he will remain some days, and from whence he will proceed to take a central position at Valladolid, leaving to the Duke of Dalmatia the task of destroying the English army.—His Majesty, on being informed that in the places where the prisoners where collected, and where there are ten Spaniards for one Englishman, the Spaniards ill-used and plundered the English, gave orders for separating the English from the Spaniards, and for observing towards the former a particular sort of treatment.—The rear-guard of the English, by accepting battle at Prievas, had hoped to enable the left column, which was chiefly composed of Spaniards, to form its junction at Villa Franca. He also hoped to gain a night, in order more completely to evacu-

are Villa Franca. We found in the hospital at Villa Franca 300 English sick or wounded. The English burnt in that town a large magazine of flower and corn. They also destroyed several artillery carriages, and killed 500 of their horses. We have already counted 1,600 of them left dead on the roads. The amount of the prisoners is considerable, and increases every moment. In the cellars of the town we found several English soldiers who had died from drunkenness.—The head of Merle's divisions, forming part of the Duke of Dalmatia's corps, came up with the advance guard on the 3rd. At four p. m. it reached the rear-guard of the English, who were upon the hights of Prievas, a league before Villa Franca, consisting of 5,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. This position was a very fine position, and difficult to attack. General Merle made his dispositions. The infantry advanced, beat the charge, and the English were entirely routed. The difficulty of the ground did not permit the cavalry to charge, and only 200 prisoners were taken. We had some 50 men killed or wounded. General Colbert advanced to see if the cavalry could form; his hour was arrived, a ball struck him in the forehead, and he lived but a quarter of and hour. There are two roads from Astorga to Villa Franca. The English took the right, the Spaniards the left; they marched without order, were cut off and surrounded by the Hanoverian Chasseurs. A General of brigade and a whole division laid down their arms—The head-quarters of the Duke of Dalmatia, were, on the 4th in the evening, at the distance of ten leagues from Lugo. On the 2d his Majesty reviewed at Astorga the divisions of Laborde and Loison, which form the army of Portugal. These troops see the English flying and burn with impatience to get up with them.—His Majesty left as a reserve at Astorga, the corps of the Duke of Elchingen, who has had his advanced guard on the passes into Gallicia, and who is enabled in case of emergency, to support the corps of the Duke of Dalmatia.—Since the 27th ult. we have taken more than 20,000 prisoners, among whom are 1,500 English. We have taken also more than 400 baggage waggons, 15 waggons of firelocks, their magazines, and hospitals. The English retreat in disorder, leaving magazines, sick, wounded, and equipage. They will experience a still greater loss, and if they be able to embark, it is probable it will not be without the loss of half their army. But informed that the army was reduced below 20,000 men, resolved to remove his head-quarters from Astorga to Benevente. We found in the barns several English who had been hanged by the Spaniards; his Majesty was indignant and ordered the barns to be burnt; the peasants, whatever may be their resentment, have no right to attempt the lives of the waggoners of either army. His Majesty has ordered the En-

glish prisoners to be treated with all the respect due to soldiers who have manifested liberal ideas, and sentiments of honour. On the 4th, at night, the Duke of Dalmatia's head-quarters were ten leagues from Lugo.—Gouvion De St. Cyr's division entered Barcelona on the 17th. On the 15th he came up with Generals Reding's and Vives's troops at Lieras, and completely routed them. He took six pieces of cannon, 30 waggons, and 3,000 men.—We have received the confirmation of the news announcing the arrival of the 7th corps, under General Gouvion St. Cyr, at Barcelona. He entered that place on the 17th. On the 15th, he fell in with the troops commanded by Generals Reding and Vives, and completely dispersed them. He took from them six pieces of cannon, 30 caissons, and 3,000 men. By means of the junction of the 7th corps with the troops under General Duhesme, we have a large army at Barcelona.—When his Majesty was at Tordesillas, he had his head-quarters in the outward buildings of the royal convent of St. Clair. It was to this convent that the mother of Charles V. had retired, and where she died. The convent of St. Claire was built on the scite of a Moorish palace, of which about two halls remain in fine preservation. The abbess was presented to the Emperor. She is 75 years of age, and for 65 years she had not gone out of the cloisters. She was considerably moved when she passed the threshold: but she conversed with the Emperor with much presence of mind, and obtained several favours of her friends."

Intercepted Letter to the Marquis DE ROMANA:

Villa Franca, Jan. 2, 1809.

"SIR,—I should not have detained your instructions so long, had not Sir John Moore returned very late to Villa Franca. He arrived greatly fatigued. I delivered your letter to him, to which he cannot return an answer till to-morrow; but he desired me to inform you, that he would set out at an early hour. There are at Benevente, 2 or 300 of the French cavalry, who annoy our stragglers between Benavente and Villa Franca. General Moore begs you will place a battalion on the heights over the road, where they may fire on them without any risk.—There is no news. We know nothing of the movements of the French, and we continue to retreat. I am not certain that Sir John Moore will allow me to return to your excellency. In that case permit me to express an hope of meeting with you in London, in better times; for be assured, sir, I retain a grateful recollection of your kindness, and am with the greatest respect, &c."

M. LYMER.

TWENTY-SIXTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Valladolid, Jan. 7.

"AFTER General Gouvion de St. Cyr entered Barcelona, he proceeded to the Lobregat, and forced the enemy's intrenched camp, and took 25 pieces of cannon. He then took Tarragona a place of great importance.—The annexed Reports of Generals Duhesme and St. Cyr, contain the details of the military events that have taken place in Catalonia to the 21st of December. They do the greatest credit to General St. Cyr. Every thing that has taken place at Barcelona is to the praise of General Duhesme, who has displayed great talents and firmness.—The troops of the kingdom of Italy have covered themselves with glory; their excellent conduct has sensibly affected the Emperor. They are in truth chiefly composed of the corps formed by his Majesty in the campaign of the year 1805. The Italian picked men are as wise as they are brave; they have given rise to no complaint, and have shewed the greatest courage. Since the time of the Romans, the people of Italy had not made war in Spain. Since the Romans, no epoch has been so glorious for the Italian arms—The army of the kingdom of Italy is already 80,000 strong, and good soldiers. These are the guarantees which that fine country has of being no longer the theatre of war. His Majesty has removed his head-quarters from Benevente to Valladolid: He received to-day all the constituted authorities.—Ten of the worst of the lowest ranks have been put to death. They are the same who massacred General Cevallos, and who for so long a time have oppressed the better sort of people.—His Majesty has ordered the suppression of the Dominican convent, in which one Frenchman was killed. He testified his satisfaction at the convent of San Penete, whose monks are enlightened men, who, far from having preached war and disorder, of having shewn themselves greedy of blood and murder, have employed all their cares and efforts to calm the people and bring them back to good order. Several Frenchmen owe their lives to them. The Emperor wished to see these religious men; and when he was informed they were Benedictines, whose members have always rendered themselves illustrious in literature and sciences, both in France and in Italy, he condescended to express the satisfaction he felt at owing this obligation to them. In general the clergy of this city are good. —The monks who are really dangerous are the fanatic Dominicans, who had got possession of the inquisition, and who having bathed their hands in the blood of a Frenchman, had

the sacrilegious cowardice to swear on the Gospel that the unfortunate man who was demanded of them was not dead, and had been carried to the hospital, and who afterwards owned, that after he had been killed he was thrown into a well where he had been found: barbarians and hypocrites, who preach intolerance, excite discord and blood, you are not the ministers of the Gospel! The period when Europe beheld, without indignation, the massacre of Protestants celebrated by illuminations in great cities can never be revived: the blessings of toleration are the first rights of man; it is the first maxim of the Gospel, because it is the attribute of charity. If there was a time when some false teachers of the Christian religion preached intolerance, they had not then in view the interest of heaven, but those of their temporal influence; they wished to be powerful amongst ignorant people. When a monk, a theologist, a bishop, a pope, preaches intolerance, he preaches his own condemnation; he gives himself up to be the laughing-stock of nations.—The Duke of Dalmatia will be to-night at Lugo. Numerous columns of prisoners are on their march thither.—General Davenoy proceeded with 500 cavalry to Toro. He came up with two or 300 men, the remains of the insurrection. He charged them, and killed or took the greater part. The Colonel of the Dutch-hussars was wounded in the charge."

TWENTY-SEVENTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Valladolid, Jan. 9.

"THE Duke of Dalmatia, after the battle of Prievas, proceeded to expel the English from the post of Piedra Fella. He there took 1,500 English, prisoners, five pieces of cannon, and several caissons. The enemy was obliged to destroy a quantity of baggage and stores. The precipices were filled with them. Such was their precipitate flight and confusion, that the divisions of Lorge and Lahouszaye found among the deserted baggage, waggons filled with gold and silver; it was part of the treasure of the English army. The property fallen into our hands is estimated at two millions—On the 4th, at night, the French advanced guard was at Castillo and Nocedo. On the 5th, the enemy's rear-guard was come up with at Pueste and Ferren, the moment it was going to blow up a bridge, a charge of cavalry rendered the attempt useless.—It was the same of the bridge of Cruciel.—On the 5th, at night, Lorge and Lahoussaye's divisions were at Constantine, and the enemy a short distance from Lugo. On the 6th the Duke of Dalmatia was on his march to reach that city.—The English army suffers considerably: it has no longer ammunition and

baggage, and half the English cavalry is on foot. Since our departure from Benevente up to the 5th instant, we counted on the road 1,800 English horses, that had been killed.—The remains of Romana's army are found wandering about in all directions, the remains of the armies of Mayorca, of Ibernia, of Barcelona, and of Naples, are made prisoners.—General Maupetet having come up with, on the side of Zamora, with his brigade of dragoons, a column of 800 men, charged and dispersed them, and killed or took the greater part.—The Spanish peasantry of Galicia and Leon, have no mercy on the English. Notwithstanding the strictest orders to the contrary, we every day find a number of the English assassinated.—The head-quarters of the Duke of Elchingen are at Villa Franca, on the confines of Galicia and Leon. The Duke of Belluno is on the Tagus. The whole of the Imperial guard is concentrated at Valladolid. The cities of Valladolid, of Palencia, Segovia, Avilla, Astorga, Leon, &c. have sent numerous deputations to the King.—The flight of the English army, the dispersion of the remains of the armies of Romana and Estremadura, and the evils which the troops of the different armies inflict upon the country, rally the provinces round the legitimate authority. The city of Madrid has particularly distinguished itself;—28,500 heads of families have taken the oath of allegiance upon the holy Sacrament. The citizens have promised his Imperial Majesty, that if he will place his brother on the throne, they will serve him with all their efforts, and defend him with all their means."

TWENTY-EIGHTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Valladolid, Jan. 18.

"THE part of the treasure of the enemy which has fallen into our hands is 1,800,000 francs.—The inhabitants assert that the English have carried off from eight to ten millions.—The English general deeming it impossible that the French infantry and artillery should have followed him, and gained upon him a certain number of marches, particularly in mountains so difficult as those of Galicia, thought he could only be pursued by cavalry and sharpshooters. He took therefore the position of Castro on his right, supported by the river Tombago, which passes by Lugo, and is not fordable.—The Duke of Dalmatia arrived on the 6th, in presence of the enemy. He employed the seventh and eighth in reconnoitring the enemy, and collecting his infantry and artillery, which were still in the rear. He formed his plan of attack. The left only of the enemy was attackable; he manœuvered on their left.

His dispositions required some movements on the 8th, the Duke being determined to attack on the 9th; but the enemy retreated in the night, and in the morning our advanced guard entered Lugo. The enemy left 300 sick in the hospitals; a park of 18 pieces of cannon, and 300 waggons of ammunition. We made 700 prisoners.—The town and environs of Lugo are choaked with the bodies of English horses. Hence, upwards of 2,500 horses have been killed in the retreat. The weather is dreadful; rain and snow fall continually.—The English are marching to Corunna in great haste, where they have 400 transports. They have already lost baggage, ammunition, a part even of their most material artillery, and upwards of 3,000 prisoners. On the 10th our advanced guard was at Betanzos, a short distance from Corunna. The Duke of Elchingen is with his corps near Lugo.—In reckoning the sick, stragglers, those who have been killed by the peasants, and made prisoners by our troops, we may calculate the loss of the English at one third of their army. They are reduced to 18,000 men, and are not yet embarked. From Sahagun they retreated 150 leagues in bad weather, worse roads, through mountains, and always closely pursued at the point of the sword.—It is difficult to conceive the folly of their plan of campaign. It must be attributed not to the general who commands, and who is a clever and skilful man, but to that spirit of hatred and rage which animates the English Ministry. To push forward in this manner 30,000 men, exposing them to destruction, or to flight as their only resource, is a conception which can only be inspired by the spirit of passion, or the most extravagent presumption. The English Government is like the liar in the play, who has told the same untruth so often, that at last he believes it himself.—Lugo was pillaged and sacked by the enemy. We cannot impute these disasters to the English general: it is the usual and inevitable effect of forced marches and precipitate retreat. The inhabitants of the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia hold the English in horror. Under this head, the events that have taken place are equivalent to a great victory.—Zamora, whose inhabitants had been animated by the presence of the English, shut their gates against General Maupetet: General Dorneau proceeded against it with four battalions; he scaled the city, took it, and put the most guilty to the sword. Galicia is the province of Spain which manifests the best disposition, it receives the French as deliverers, who have relieved them at once from foreigners and from anarchy.—The Bishop of Lugo, and the clergy of the whole province, manifest the wisest sentiments. —Valladolid has taken the oath to king Joseph. Six men, the leaders of revolt and massacre of the French, have been con-

demned to death. Five have been executed. The clergy asked pardon for the sixth, who is a father of four children. His Majesty commuted his sentence, and said, he wished thereby to testify his satisfaction of the good conduct of the clergy of Valladolid on several important occasions."

TWENTY-NINTH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN,

Valladolid, Jan, 16. 1809.

"ON the 10th Jan. the head quarters of Marshal the Duke of Belluno were at Aranjuez.—Here he learned that the remains of the army, which had been beaten at Tudelá, were re united in the neighbourhood of Cuenca, after having been joined by the new levies from Granada, Valencia, and Murcia. The king of Spain conceived the possibility of drawing out the enemy. With this view, he ordered all the posts to fall back, which had advanced to the mountains of Cuenca, beyond Tarancon and Huete. The Spanish army followed this movement. On the 12th, it was stationed at Veles. The Duke of Belluno then took post at Tarencon and Fuente de Pedronara. On the 13th, the division of Villatte marched directly against the enemy; while the Duke of Belluno, with the division of Ruffin, took a circuit by Alcazar. As soon as General Villatte discovered the Spaniards, he advanced to the charge, and put to the rout the enemy's 12 or 13,000 men, who immediately endeavoured to retire by Cara-cosa on Alcazar. The 9th regiment of light infantry, the 24th, and the 96th of the line, presented to the enemy a wall of bayonets. The Spaniards threw down their arms, 300 officers, two Generals, seven colonels, 20 lieutenant-colonels, and 12,000 men were made prisoners. Thirty standards, and all the artillery, have been taken. One Venegos, who commanded these troops, has been killed. The whole of the captured army, with its colours, escorted by three battalions, will, to-morrow, (the 17th), make its entrance into Madrid.—This success does the greatest honour to the Duke of Belluno, and to the conduct of his troops. General Villatte manœuvred with skill, and General Ruffin distinguished himself: so did General Latour Mauburg. The young Sopransi, chef d'escadron of the first dragoons, threw himself into the midst of the enemy, displaying a singular bravery. He brought six stand of colours to the Duke of Belluno.—The General of artillery Senarmont conducted himself as he has always done: when the enemy's army found its retreat was cut off, it changed its direction. General Senarmont then occupied a narrow pass with his artillery, and upon this pass it was that the enemy directed

his course, in order to find out an opening. The artillery had little escort; but the cannoniers of the grand army had no need of it. General Senarmont placed his guns in square battalion, and fired with grape shot. The enemy's column again changed its direction, and turned to the quarter from whence it came, to lay down its arms.—The Duke of Belluno praises M. Chateau, his first Aide-de-camp. He recommends also General Semele, and colonels Jaimin, Meunier, Mouton, &c. officers whose bravery and skill have been tried in a thousand actions.—In Gallicia the English still continue to be pursued at the point of the sword. After having been chased from Lugo, three parts of them took the direction to Corunna, the fourth that to Vigo, where they have transports. The Duke of Dalmatia has advanced towards Corunna, and the Duke of Elchingen to Vigo.—Deputations of the Council of of State of Spain, of the Council of the Indies, of the Council of Finances, of the Council of War, of the Council of Marine, of the Council of Orders, of the Junta of Commerce and of Money, of the tribunals of Alcaldes, of the Municipality of Madrid, of the Clergy regular and secular, of the Order of Nobility, of the Corporation, major and-minor, of the inhabitants and parishes of the different quarters of Madrid, were presented to the Emperor and King on the 10th, at Valladolid."

Sir John Moore arrived with the main army within sight of his ships, before he was obliged to measure swords with his antagonist. The gallant chief lost his life in the first onset, and his second in command, Sir David Baird, received a wound which obliged him to retire on board ship, General Hope was therefore left to gather the laurels of the day.

Ville de Paris, at Sea, Jan. 18, 1809.

My Lord,

"By the much lamented death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who fell in the action with the enemy on the 16th instant, it has become my duty to acquaint your lordship, that the French army attacked the British troops in the position they occupied in front of Corunna, at about 2 o'clock, in the afternoon of that day.—A severe wound, which compelled me to quit the field a short time previous to the fall of Sir John Moore, obliges me to refer your lordship for the particulars of the action, which was long and obstinately contest-

ed, to the inclosed Report of Lieutenant-General Hope, who succeeded to the command of the army, and to whose ability and exertions in direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his Majesty's troops, is to be attributed, unto Providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy at every point of attack. The honourable captain Gordon, my aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will be able to give your lordship any further information which may be required."

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. BAIRD, Lieutenant-General.

Audacious, off Corunna, Jan. 18, 1809.

SIR,

"IN compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna, on the 16th instant.—It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front.—This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces, and by yourself, at the head of 42nd regiment, and the brigade under Major-General Lord William Bentinck.—The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest.—I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged.—The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments

to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and 1st battallion 52nd regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant General Fraser's division, (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.—They were however more forcibly directed towards the centry, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left, the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding however his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2nd battalion 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and a fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were re-assembled on the ground they occupied in the morning and the picquets and advanced posts resumed their original stations.—Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who from his number and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in daparting from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late commander of the forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th, for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were, in fact, far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna.

The picquets remained at their posts until five in the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders, and without the enemy having discovered the movement.—By the unremitted exertions of captains the honourable H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of Rear Admiral de Courcy, were entrusted with the service of embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by commissioner Bowen, captains Bowen, and Shepherd, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the army were embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under Major-Generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day light.—The brigade of Major-General Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-General Hill, was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.—The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St. Lucia, which commanded the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-General Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by 3 in the afternoon; Major-General Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is so well known to yourself and the whole army, having fully explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that have not been previously moved, embarked before one this morning.—Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harrasing service. The superior numbers, and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection, that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain, amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native

armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the South of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the North of Spain.—You are well aware with what diligence this system has been pursued.—These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harrassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indispensable to assume, the native and undaunted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in approving it, it is difficult for me, in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under Major-Generals Lord William Bentinck, and Manningham, and Leith; and the brigade of guards under Major-General Warde.—To these officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-General Hill and colonel Catlin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81st regiments, with parts of the brigade of guards, and the 26th regiment. From Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, quarter-master-General, and the officers of the general staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret, that the illness of brigadier-general Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to brigadier-general Slade during the action, for a zealous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.—The greater part of the fleet having gone to sea, yesterday evening, the whole being under weigh, and the corps in the embarkation necessarily much mixed on board, it is impossible, at present, to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say, that I believe it did not exceed in killed and wounded from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown, but many circumstances induce me to rate it at nearly double the above number. We have some prisoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is

not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of lieutenant-colonel Napier, 92d regiment, majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed; lieutenant-colonel Winch, 4th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Fane, 59th regiment, lieutenant-colonel Griffith, guards, majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.—To you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the conversation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolf, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolf, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolf, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.—It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to the service of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less able hands." I have the honour to be, &c,

JOHN HOPE, Lieutenant-General.

To Lieutenant-General, Sir D. BAIRD, &c. &c.

The French accounts are supplementary to this, but probably they must be regarded as exaggerated supplements.

THIRTIETH BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Valladolid, Jan. 21.

"THE Duke of Dalmatia left Betanzos on the 12th inst. Having reached the Mero, he found the bridge of Burgo cut. The enemy was dislodged from the village of Burgo. In the mean while General Franceschi ascended the river, which he crossed at the bridge of Sela. He made himself master of the nigh road from Corunna to Santiago, and took six officers and

60 soldiers prisoners. On the same day a body of 30 marines, who were fetching water from the bay near Mero, were taken. From the village of Perillo, the English fleet could be observed in the harbour of Corunna.—On the 13th, the enemy caused two powder magazines, situated on the heights of St. Margaret, at half a league from Corunna, to be blown up. The explosion was terrible, and was felt at the distance of three leagues.—On the 14th, the bridge at Burgo was repaired, and the French artillery was able to pass. The enemy had taken a position at two leagues distance, half a league before Corunna. He was seen employed in hastily embarking his sick and wounded, the number of whom according to spies and deserters, amounts to 3,000 or 4,000 men. The English were in the meanwhile occupied in destroying the batteries on the coast, and laying waste the country on the sea shore. The commandant of the fort of St. Philip, suspecting the fate intended for his fortification, refused to admit them into it.—On the evening of the 14th we saw a fresh convoy of 160 sail arrive, among which were four ships of the line.—On the morning of the 15th, the divisions Merle and Mermet occupied the heights of Villaboa, where the enemy's advanced guard was stationed, which was attacked and destroyed. Our right wing was stationed on the point where the road from Corunna to Lugo, and that from Corunna to Santiago meet. The left was placed behind the village of Elvina. The enemy was stationed behind some beautiful heights.—The rest of the 15th was spent in fixing a battery of 12 pieces of cannon; and it was not till the 16th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, that the Duke of Dalmatia gave orders to attack.—The assault was made upon the English by the first brigade of the division of Mermet, which overthrew them, and drove them from the village of Elvina. The second regiment of light infantry covered itself with glory. General Jardon, at the head of the Voltigeurs, wrought a terrible carnage. The enemy driven from his positions, retreated to the gardens which surround Corunna.—The night growing very dark, it, was necessary to suspend the attack. The enemy availed himself of this with precipitation. Only 6,000 of our men were engaged, and every arrangement was made for abandoning the positions of the night, and advancing next day to a general attack. The loss of the enemy has been immense. Two of our batteries played upon them during the whole of the engagement. We counted on the field of battle more than eight hundred of their dead bodies; among which was the body of General Hamilton, and those of two other general officers, whose names we are unacquainted with. We have taken 20 officers, 300 men, and 4 pieces of cannon. The

English have left behind them more than 1,500 horses, which they had killed. Our loss amounts to 100 killed and 150 wounded.—The colonel of the 47th regiment distinguished himself.—An ensign of the 31st infantry killed with his own hand an English officer, who had endeavoured to wrest from him his eagle. The General of artillery Bomgeat and colonel Fontenay have signalized themselves. At day-break on the 17th, we saw the English convoy under sail. On the 18th, the whole had disappeared. The Duke of Dalmatia had caused a carronade to be discharged upon the vessels from the fort of Santiago. Several transports ran aground, and all the men who were on board were taken. We found in the establishment of the Palloza (a large manufactory, &c. in the suburbs of Corunna, where the English had previously been encamped), 3,000 English muskets. Magazines also were seized, containing a great quantity of ammunition and other effects, belonging to the hostile army. A great number of wounded were picked up in the suburbs. The opinion of the inhabitants on the spot, and deserters, is, that the number of wounded in the battle exceeds 2,500 men. Thus has terminated the English expedition which was sent into Spain. After having fomented the war in this unhappy country, the English have abandoned it. They have disembarked 38,000 men and 6,000 horses. We have taken from them, according to calculation, 6,500 exclusive of the sick. They have re-embarked very little baggage, very little ammunition, and very few horses. We have counted 5,000 killed and left behind. The men who have found an asylum on board their vessels are harrassed and dejected. In another season of the year not one of them would have escaped.—The facility of cutting the bridges, the rapidity of the torrents, which in winter swell to deep rivers, the shortness of the days, and the length of the nights, are very favourable to an army on their retreat. Of the 38,000 men whom the English had disembarked, we may be assured that scarcely 24,000 will return to England. The army of Romana, which at the end of December by the aid of reinforcements which it had received from Gallicia, consisted of 16,000 men, is reduced to less than 5,000 men, who are wandering between Vigo and Santiago, and are closely pursued. The kingdom of Leon, the province of Zamora, and all Gallicia, which the English had been desirous to cover, are conquered and subdued. The General of Division Lapisse has sent patroles into Portugal, who have been well received there. General Maupetet has entered Salamanca; he met there with some sick of the English troops."

THIRTY-FIRST BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN, *No date.*

"THE English regiments bearing the numbers 42, 50, and 52, have been entirely destroyed in the battle on the 16th, near Corunna. Not 60 men of each of these corps embarked. The General-in-Chief Moore, has been killed in attempting to charge at the head of this brigade, with the view of restoring the fortune of the day. Fruitless efforts! This troop was dispersed, and its general slain in the midst of it. General Baird had been already wounded. He passed through Corunna to get on board his ship, and did not get his wound dressed till he got on board; it is reported that he died on the 19th. After the battle on the 16th, a dreadful night passed at Corunna.—The English entered in confusion and consternation. The English army had landed more that 80 pieces of cannon; only 12 were re-embarked: the remainder has been taken or lost; and by a return made, we find ourselves in possession of 60 pieces of English cannon. Independent of two millions of treasure the army has taken from the English, it appears that a treasure more considerable has been cast away among the rocks and precipices which border the road from Astorga to Corunna. The peasants and the soldiers have collected a great quantity of silver among the rocks. In the engagements which took place during the retreat, and prior to the battle of Corunna, two English generals were killed, and three wounded. General Crawford is named among the last. The English have lost every thing that constitutes an army—general, artillery, horses, baggage, ammunition, magazines. On the 17th, at day-break, we were masters of the heights that command the road to Corunna, and the batteries were playing upon the English convoy. The result was, that many of the ships, were unable to get out, and were taken at the capitulation of Corunna. Five hundred horses were also taken still alive, 16,000 muskets, and a great deal of battering cannon abandoned by the enemy. A great number of magazines are full of preserved provisions (munition of confectionnes), which the English wished to carry off, but were obliged to leave behind. A powder magazine, containing 200,000lbs. weight of powder, has also fallen into our hands. The English, surprised by the issue of the battle of the 16th, have not even had time to destroy their magazines. There were even 300 English sick in the hospitals. We found in the port seven English ships—three were loaded with horses, and four with troops. They could not get out. The fortress of Corunna, is of an extent which secures it from a coup de main. It was therefore impossible to enter it before the 20th,

in virtue of the annexed capitulation. In Corunna we found above 200 pieces of Spanish cannon. The French Consul Fourcroy, the general Quesnel, and his staff; M. Bougars, officer of ordnance; M. Taboureau, auditor; and 350 French soldiers or seamen, who had been made prisoners either in Portugal or on board the ship Atlas, have been delivered up. They express great satisfaction at the conduct of the officers of the Spanish navy. The English will have gained by their expedition the hatred of the Spaniards, shame, and dishonour. The flower of their army, composed of Scotchmen, has been either wounded, killed, or taken. General Franceschi has entered St. Jago de Compostella, where he found some magazines and an English guard, which he took. He marched immediately upon Vigo. Romana appeared to have taken this route with 2,500 men, all that he could rally. The division of Mermet marched on Ferrol. The air about Corunna is infected by the carcases of 1,200 horses whom the English killed in the streets. The first care of the Duke of Dalmatia has been to provide for the restoration of salubrity, equally important to the soldiers and the inhabitants. General Alzedo, governor of Corunna, appears to have taken part with the insurgents only from the constraint of force. He took the oath of fidelity to king Joseph Napoleon with enthusiasm. The people manifest the joy they feel at being delivered from the English."

An admission in this last Bulletin is all that is requisite, to show that such expressions as "driving the English," as "overthrowing the English," and similar phrases, that have been used in these accounts, were not *exactly* suitable to the occasion. It was *not possible* to enter Corunna until the 20th it seems, and then it could only be entered by capitulation, so that the English might have obtained lodging for a night or two before they could have been driven into the sea. Now if they really hid themselves in the gardens of Corunna from the wrath of Marshal Soult, how came the gallant Duke not to pursue them to the gates and enter the town with them? In truth, he was repulsed, and he was glad to find that they were willing to go quietly off, as General Hope has stated; he was even weakened so considerably that Alzedo, the Governor, obtained very favour-

able terms, and particularly that "no person should be prosecuted, arrested, or otherwise punished, for any opinion or line of conduct he might have adopted during the disturbances at Corunna, or even in Gallicia." We shall now see that the conquest of Spain and Portugal was considered complete.

THIRTY-SECOND BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

"THE Duke of Dalmatia, being arrived before Ferrol, caused the place to be invested. Negociations were begun. The civil authorities, and the military and naval officers, manifested a disposition to surrender; but the people, fomented by the spies whom the English had left resisted. On the 24th, the Duke of Dalmatia received two messengers, one sent by Admiral Melgarejo, Commander of the Spanish squadron, and the other, who came across the mountains, sent by the military Commanders. These couriers were both sent without the knowledge of the people. They stated that the authorities were under the yoke of a furious populace, excited and paid by the agents of England, and that 8,000 men belonging to the city and its environs were in arms.—The duke of Dalmatia had to resolve upon opening the trenches; but from the 24th to the 25th, various movements were manifest in the town. The 17th regiment of light infantry had repaired to Murgardos; the 31st regiment of light infantry were at the forts of La Palma and St. Martin, and at Lagrana; and as they blockaded the fort St. Philip, the people began to fear the consequences of an assault, and to listen to men of sense. On the 26th, three flags of truce, furnished with authority, and the annexed letter, arrived at the head-quarters, and signed the surrender of the place. On the 27th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the town was occupied by the division Mermet, and by a brigade of dragoons. On the same day the garrison was disarmed; the disarming also produced 5,000 muskets. The people who do not belong to Ferrol, have been remanded to their villages. The men who had stained themselves with blood during the insurrection, have been arrested. Admiral Obregon, whom the people had arrested during the insurrection, has been put at the head of the arsenal. There have been found in the port three vessels of 112 guns, two of 88, one of 74, two of 64, three frigates, and

a considerable number of corvettes, brigs, and unarmed vessels, more than 1,500 pieces of cannon of every size, and ammunition of all kinds.—It is probable that, but for the precipitate retreat of the English, and the affair of the 16th, they would have occupied Ferrol, and seized this beautiful squadron. The military and naval officers have taken the oath to king Joseph with the greatest enthusiasm. What they relate of their sufferings from the lowest classes of the people and the English, is inconceivable. Order reigns in Gallicia, and the authority of the king is re-established in this province, one of the most considerable of the Spanish Monarchy.—General Laborde has found at Corunna, on the sea shore, seven pieces of cannon, which the English had buried on the 16th, not being able to take them away. La Romana, abandoned by the English and his own troops, has fled with 500 men, in order to throw himself into Andalusia. There remained at Lisbon, only about 4 or 5,000 Englishmen. All the hospitals and all the magazines were embarked, and the garrison were preparing to abandon this nation, as indignant at the perfidy of the English, as they are disgusted by the difference of manners and religion, by the continual and brutal intemperance of the English troops, and that arrogance and ill founded pride which renders this nation odious to the Continent."

CHAPTER X.

Enquiries into the Causes of the late Failures.

THUS, in little more than two months we have seen a campaign terminate, which laid any little hope that Europe might not have remained prostrate at the feet of the conqueror, for conqueror we are obliged to call the Emperor upon this occasion, although the opposition that he met with was rather a series of convulsive movements than a warlike struggle. It was a campaign in which there was more gain than glory on one side, and more loss than degradation on the other.

Under such circumstances it was very natural that the sufferers should be unusually chagrined, and be particularly anxious to enquire what measures could be taken to prevent the recurrence of similar miscarriages. Spain was evidently in too deranged a state to be able to afford any efficient aid to the common cause, even in the defence of its own territory; not exactly because it was without a Government, but because it had a bad one; not because the people were left to themselves, but because those who undertook to guide them were men of narrow conceptions who brought with them the principles of other times, and forms suited to another state of things; and who rather re-pressed the energies of the people than excited them. Many of the Members of Government were themselves sensible of their own inadequacy, as well as of the futility of all the efforts that were making; but the difficulties in the way of adopting a rational form of governing under their circumstances were innumerable, and

could such a Government have been formed, the chances against finding the persons capable of administering it, with the influence the enemy had then acquired in the country, seemed to render it impossible. To England every rational creature looked up, in expectation that it would use the influence which its wealth and power, so largely converted into succours for the defence and comfort of Spain, ought to give it in her councils, and become the directing soul to order every limb and member of the allied body, according to the profundity of its judgment, and the maturity of its experience.

The prejudices of the greater number of Spaniards were too deeply rooted to listen to so enlightened a policy, they chose rather to be destroyed by their own hands than to be saved by those of another

The English people who had borne the burdens of war so long, and who had so decided an interest in exposing any defective policy that might have been the cause of the above failures, turned their attention to their own Government, with a view to discover whether, if it should acquire the desired ascendency in the affairs of Spain, it was capable of fulfilling the public expectation.

At this particular crisis, the advantages of popular discussions received a testimony that will be remembered for ages, or rather the beneficial effects of which will be seen for ages to come; for though the general disappointments were borne with the utmost firmness, and the public peace was in no instance broken, yet so loud was the general resentment spoken, that the Government was obliged to listen to it, and to enter upon enquiries, that, as we shall shortly see, affected the highest characters in the state.

The Government was said to be tainted both in a military and a political sense, by having a Commander-in-Chief who made his military ar-

rangements from other considerations than the good of the army, and by having a Prime Minister who had no other quality to entitle him to his situation than his being the head of a party. For want of a Minister of commanding talents, it was said the country could neither obtain a proper degree of confidence from its allies nor of respect from its enemies; and it was doubted whether Ministers had not for many years received their appointments, rather because they might be made the servile instruments to promote some little views of the court, than out of any regard to their adaptation to office.

England, said the public voice, has undergone for years past a series of reverses and disgraces, as contrary to her just expectations, as they were to the apparent means which her Ministers and Commanders possessed to promote her glory and success. It is needless to recapitulate them here; they are but too fresh in the recollection of every friend to his country. The punishment of their apparent authors, (whenever they have been found sufficiently responsible to be thought amenable to punishments) has been quite insufficient to arrest the progress of the evil. This shews it to lie more deep, to be more radically inherent in the system: and further inquiry must be instituted before it be possible to tear it up by the roots. We have seen exhibited a series of abuses naturally arising out of each other from the very nature of a mixed Government, without any very flagrant guilt, *beyond neglect*, in any party; for that can hardly be called *guilt* which can scarcely fail to flow from particular circumstances of situations or particular prejudices of education. The mischief incident upon them, however, is not the less dreadful, nor cries the less aloud for a radical cure. If we therefore are suffering under unexpected and hitherto unaccountable misfortunes; if our hopes have been only raised upon the fairest

and most rational grounds, to be cast down and blasted by some secret spell which leaves us writhing in all the agonies of despair; it becomes our paramount duty seriously to inquire whether any of those abuses, so naturally flowing from an unjustifiable deviation from the true principles of our Government, have not actually crept into our practice. This inquiry it is our business to institute, with all that attention to the laws, which the situation of subject and citizen imposes, and all that consideration for the feelings of individuals, which men and Christians are always bound to observe, as far as it is consistent with their primary and more important duties. Those duties consist in probing the public wounds to the very bottom, in order to ascertain the proper practical remedy.

It is an attempt equally delicate and difficult to investigate how often, and in what degree, the Public Acts are *really* and substantially those of the responsible Ministers; yet there are some facts so prominent, that a reflecting mind, even supposing it only to possess the most common sources of information, can hardly be mistaken in its conclusions. When it sees, that for these last forty-eight years, there has existed in this country, with scarcely more than one exception, a series of weak Administrations, which, the moment they began to grow strong, and to promise to be able to stand by their own merits, and upon their own system, were replaced by others, who underwent the same fate; no other conclusion can possibly be drawn, than that their successive appointments and removals could not be made upon public grounds; that, during the feeble periods of their ostensible power, their acts were not their own; or at least that the line of policy to which they were respectively pledged before the public, was followed no further than was sufficient to throw dust in the eyes of the nation; while the *real management*

and *controul* of *all* the *efficient departments was in other hands.* The palpable evil consequences of the necessity for this partial compliance afford one among many proofs of the ruinous effect of half systems. It would be easy to shew that in the management of the public force, even an acknowledged freedom from all controul and responsibility in the public agent, would have been much more advantageous. So manly an inroad upon the Constitution (if successful), would have given its peculiar advantages along with its great and peculiar defeats. But a weak and pettifogging attempt upon the public freedom, which by mixing responsible with unresponsible agents, only goes to paralize the public force, to unsettle all the principles of public action, and to throw a merited air of vacillation upon the councils of the country, can only boast (in its success) of the rare merit of annihilating, as to the public, the advantage of every system; and introducing in its stead its own peculiar nothingness. Whatever *supposed benefits* may occur from it to any *party* or *individual* in the State; it is *really beneficial* only to her enemies.

To take one of many instances as a proof. For some years previous to the American War, a succession of Administrations ostensibly governed the country, of whom the one no sooner appeared to be settled in the possession of power, and fully engaged in the management of public affairs, on the principals of which they came into place, than they immediately gave way to a new set, on whom the same experiment was shortly reiterated. And as each Administration was necessarily succeeded by those, who held a precisely opposite opinion on the grand question of policy then agitated, the inevitable consequence as to the public councils was, that although coercion of the refractory colonists was at first the order of the day; before time had elapsed to judge of its effects, a new

system of relaxation and indulgence was adopted; and again, before that had had a fair and reasonable trial, redoubled severity became again the principle of the third party taken into power. Would not such conduct, among men, from a superior to an inferior, be justly deemed that of a weak, ignorant, and capricious tyrant? And could that of this country appear in any other light in the eye of the Americans? Now it is perfectly clear, that all these changes could not have been made *upon public grounds. They* could never have required that our American brethren should have been first coerced, then indulged, then again coerced. On the contrary, it is very evident that either system adopted by a strong, wise, and efficient government, whose perseverance could be depended upon, would at first have been sufficient for the purpose. The Americans (before the enemies of Britain laid hold of their discontents as a hopeful spring of annoyance to her), might either have been constrained or conciliated with success. It is also perfectly clear, that whatever *supposed advantages* might accrue to *any individual* from these changes, the *real advantages* were entirely and exclusively with the French. For they no sooner beheld the weakness and vacillation of the public councils, and foresaw the probable consequence among the Americans, than they immediately insinuated themselves into the quarrel. By their intrigues and assistance, joined to the efforts of those domestic politicians, who naturally, and justly, felt themselves injured by the usage they had received, arose the result, which was supposed at the time to justify the boast of the French Minister (Maurepas), "that he had deprived England of her left arm, and would shortly do the same by her right one."

Nor was this the whole.—If the peculiar character of the French Revolution might be traced (as it frequently and very plausibly has been,) to

the issue and the circumstances of the American War; it is impossible to escape the conclusion, that the present situation of Europe, all the evils we have suffered, all the disasters we have incurred, the enormous load of debt with which we are oppressed, may be traced to that very succession of weak and contradictory Administrations.

It is unpleasant to speak of present times: but without exaggeration one may be allowed to assert, that for a long period, and particularly whilst the country have been struggling for its very existence, against the strongest combination of power and ability, that ever stood in array against it, precisely the same disasterous changes of men and measures have occurred: while none have acted with that full confidence in their own strength, which can alone produce glorious results.

We have seen one set of men, the Addingtons, piequing themselves upon carrying on a contention of generosity and fair dealing with a cunning, treacherous, and unprincipled enemy. We have seen another set, the Pitts, raising up against him a hostile combination, which for want of time, and a settled confidence in the councils of the country, necessarily fell short of its object. In opposition to this system we have seen a third set, the Grenvilles, by an extraordinary neglect of opportunities, weakening among our allies the foundations of confidence in our assistance, and of similarity in our political interests; thus contriving to disgust our only remaining powerful friend, and to offer us as victims to our weakest and most contemptible enemies; we have seen them succeeded by others with vigour enough to lay good and practicable plans, but without power enough to execute them, who tantalize the public and the world with flattering prospects of success, only to dash the cup from their lips, when

the gratification of their thirst for glory seems fully within reach. Public disgrace has been the consequence to us, and the real benefit of the system has rested wholly and exclusively with our enemies.

If we have seen the first principles of the formation of an efficient Ministry to be wanting, we shall no less perceive upon further inquiry, that the subordinate conditions are equally deficient. Supposing the first difficulty to be got over, and private wishes consonant to the public interests to be established, there would still remain to be conquered habits, which a long perseverance in the old system seems to have rendered inveterate. This brings on the inquiry; how far the component parts of our administrations have been such, as the public interests and the spirit of the constitution require: first, as to the existence of a responsible and efficient Prime Minister; secondly, as to the unanimity and responsibility of the subordinate members.

It would be drawing the subject to too great a length to enter into an historical detail on these subjects. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to state the actual condition in which they stand. Now, although we may be perfectly ready to admit, that our present premier the Duke of Portland is a very worthy, honest gentleman, as far as the public in general have any right to inquire into his actions;—yet we apprehend it would be rather ridiculous to assert, that *even in his best and* most vigorous days, he ever exhibited any transcendent degree of talent and acumen; that the extent of his capacity was ever such, as could be safely trusted in opposition to a strong combination of hostile ability and power; or in the controul of a domestic Government that may possibly contain discordant materials. If this be so, what term of reproach would he deserve, who should maintain, that the *same mind, weakend by*

age, and enervated by disease, is capable of originating and carrying on a successful opposition to a combination of power and ability, confessedly greater than the modern world has ever seen? and of controling a domestic Government, whose unanimity, cannot be called very complete. He who would assert this, must be equally prepared to maintain, that a diminution of the means of resistance increases its power; and that nothing more than the absence of all force is necessary for the removal of inert or opposing bodies. Concluding it, then, to be an absurd farce to call the Duke of Portland an efficient Prime Minister, the result is, either the existence or the danger of that anarchy, which always must accompany a mere administration of departments, or, what it is impossible and absurd by the Constitution of England to suppose, that the *real Prime Minister is not responsible.*

The evils arising from this state of things are so obvious, that we are justified without further discussion in drawing the following conclusions: First that the superintendence of a Prime Minister infuses an uniform energy into the public actions, even those of the lowest agents, by taking away from ignorance, cowardice, or treachery, all hope of escape, through intrigue, and private patronage, or through a doubt whether the misconduct be not rather the consequence of a divided government or contention for power at home: Secondly, that many of the disasters which have of late befallen us, may be ascribed to the want of an efficient and responsible Prime Minister: therefore, Thirdly, that in order to renew the system under which England formerly flourished, such a Minister should be appointed, provided that he could be found in the country. And that he may be found, none can doubt.

The want of controling power in the Administration will in some degree account for the

want of unanimity to be observed among them for many years past. There are notorious facts in sufficient quantity, to satisfy any mind at all in the habit of tracing consequences up to their immediate causes. Is it possible, for example, that the same mind, which projected the vigorous measure of opening the South American Colonies to our merchants and manufacturers, should have selected an agent for the purpose of executing his plans, whom all the world knew to be incapable of conducting them to a successful issue? Could the same mind, which planned the defence of Sicily by a British army, have consented that abuses should continue on that island, which in case of an attack, would convert the whole population into active allies of the enemy? Could those, who resolved to secure the Turkish empire to our interests by a vigorous display of our power to protect or to destroy it, have been the same men, who by dividing the force necessary for the purpose, exposed both parts of it to destruction; or who became the dupes of a concerted report from the French, that they would occupy Egypt, when they could not send a boat there, and were induced by so clumsy an artifice, to dispatch a British force where they were destroyed by a rabble, when a secure island, which would have answered the purpose of permanent precaution ten times better, lay ready for occupation? Could the same mind, which resolved to deprive the French and the Russians of the command of the Baltic, and to destroy for many years all prospect of an armed neutrality in that dangerous quarter of Europe, have likewise resolved to leave their purpose less than half effected; thus exciting all the odium, without securing any of the advantages of aggressive warfare? Could he, who in conformity with his own plan, had got possession of all the naval resources of an important enemy, have likewise restored two-thirds of them unimpaired,

to be immediately employed in hostility, instead of setting at rest (by their destruction) all possibility of annoyance, for a period beyond the present struggle? Would he have given back in perfect order, docks, harbours, stores, batteries, timbers*, men, and warehouses, complete with every necessary, to be immediately employed in active assistance of our determined enemies, which have already deprived us of many lives, ships, and cargoes, and will of many more? The thing is impossible! Again, could the same mind, which projected the re-conquest of Portugal, have also resolved to carry into execution by appointing against a picked general of the enemy, acting upon a uniform plan, three several commanders from different parts of the world to conduct the same army, in the critical circumstances of one short campaign? Could the same part of the Administration, which had already appointed to a work, for the issue of which they were responsible, a tried agent known to be perfectly capable of performing it, and moreover one of THEMSELVES, have afterwards been absurd enough to place over his head two others, totally unconnected with them, unacquainted with the preceding circumstances of the campaign, and who, however respectable they may individually be, are quite unknown as successful commanders? The double supercession in the course of two days, and all the ridiculous confusion arising from it, must clearly be laid at other doors, than those of the ostensible ministers. In them insanity alone could justify the act.

Yet notwithstanding the utter impossibility, that men acting upon the same or similar principles, could voluntarily have been guilty of *all* these contradictions, we find them, upon the indisputa-

* In *all the private* yards of Copenhagen the stores *principally belonged to the French,* as there is every reason to believe.

ble evidence of facts, to have been actually and severally the acts of the same ostensible Government. An assurance, therefore, equal to certainty may evidently be entertained, that the men who have formed, and still form the ostensible Government, are not unanimous, that they act upon principles precisely opposite to each other, that the vigour of some is palsied by the pusillanimity of others, or that the public *views* of *these* for the *benefit of their country*, are darkened by the private machinations of *those* for the *benefit of themselves*, and *their dependents*.

Though an efficient Prime Minister would certainly go far towards remedying these disorders, there is another cause still remaining to be pointed out, and removed, before the remedy could be said to be complete, and unanimity thoroughly secured. This is the want of an equal degree of *responsibility* in all the departments of the Administration; and in those who are employed as subordinate agents in the execution of the public measures. A peculiar delicacy is necessary in treating this part of the subject. We have seen that such responsibility is absolutely required by the spirit of the Constitution; and without entering into any discussion, how far the want of it has ACTUALLY PRODUCED the evils to which *it is liable*, the enormity of those which it has *a natural tendency* to *create* has been freely pointed out. It will therefore be quite sufficient merely to state, in what respect the responsibility of the public agents has been deficient.

Every subject in this free country is "*de jure*" responsible to the laws for all his actions. But it is nevertheless true, that some may stand in such situations with respect to the public, that it would be absolutely impossible to punish them for any inefficient conduct, without the risk of producing more mischief than the original fault; and next to impossible moreover (supposing it advisable to

run the risk) to bring them to punishment at all. Now certainly it is an absolute farce, and worse than a cruel mockery of the good sense of the people, to assert that such persons are "DE FACTO" responsible for the discharge of any public duty entrusted to their discretion. A son of the Sovereign for example, who must always be contemplated as the possible tenant of the crown at some future period, stands in such a situation, with respect to the people, that they must *do to themselves* as much more serious and important injury by legally fixing a stigma *upon his character*, than any friend to the Monarchy of England would advise them to run the risk of. And though it is extremely improbable, that a British prince, while the throne is held upon its present tenure, should ever commit a wilful crime against the public; yet from the peculiar predicament in which all princes stand, as to their education and connections, they may (if intrusted with important and efficient offices), be very liable to be misled, even consistently with the purest and best intentions, into acts, for which a private individual would deservedly incur a legal censure. But would any man who wishes well to the Constitution consent to run the risk of establishing a legal and indisputable wrong, against one who in a few years perhaps, he must be bound to maintain *can do no wrong at all?* Would he ever be accessary to *branding with disgrace* one, to whom he might shortly be bound as a good subject to look up with awe, with reverence, with love, with dutiful submission; whose character he would be bound to maintain against all impugners? And of whom, to speak a recorded truth, would then justly incur to the speaker the penalties of a high misdemeanour? If this be so, who shall say that the man who has all these securities against prosecution, is "*de facto*," responsible for a charge entrusted to his care? Such absurdity is too glaring to be

supported; and it is therefore the less necessary to enter into a detail of the difficulties, which would occur in bringing so exalted a personage to justice, supposing it feasible to run the risk. What difficulties a sense of loyalty, gratitude for obligations conferred, love and duty to those connections, whose feelings would be implicated, the power of which it would be *almost virtue in some of its possessors* to employ in his defence, would throw in the way of public justice! Surely enough has been said to convince any impartial person of the absolute want of responsibility in the persons in question. The whole discussion would indeed be rendered unnecessary if princes would but consider, that he, who meddles in politics, must often be mistaken, and sometimes unfortunate, and (however innocently) the cause of disasters to his country; that the holders of official situations can scarcely avoid making more enemies than friends; and lastly, that every thing which can possibly implicate *princes* personally in the disasters of their country, or the sufferings of the people, is a deadly blow given to the monarchy, of which they are members; since it tends to diminish its only true security, the love of the subjects, and their conviction that their own welfare is identified with it. Whereas on the contrary, every thing which displays in a prince the amiable virtues of kindness, affability, generosity, justice towards the people, is a strong cement to the fabric of the Monarchy, by increasing the people's love and gratitude, and their sense of the advantages they derive from it. Political intrigues, and official situations are not the soil where these virtues can thrive, or be generally displayed. If Princes therefore knew their own interest, there would be no occasion, upon the ground of responsibility, to petition that they may not be placed, where they can scarcely avoid doing themselves, and their country, an injury.

Let us not suppose that whipping the cat will prevent the monkey from again using her paw to steal their chesnuts. Instead of instituting an enquiry whether one public agent was wrong in interfering with the plans of his predecessor, or a third justified, in consequence of such interference, in agreeing to conditions, which however necessary are clearly disgraceful to the country; let them at once have recourse to the fountain-head, and seek to remedy the original cause of so mischievous and inconsistent a farrago. Let them reflect with seriousness, whether any other remedy can be found, than that above pointed out; namely, a system of governing by a responsible administration composed of an *efficient prime minister*, and of subordinate members, *unanimous* among themselves, and *equally responsible to their country for all their public acts.* When these objects are attained, England will emerge, as she has heretofore done by the same means, from her miserable system of half-measures, from her wretched policy of incurring *all the odium*, without showing energy enough to reap any of the benefits of war. She will rise again to her proper station, and become not the weak and despised friend only, but the energetic avenger, and the firm supporter of the liberties of Europe. The flame lighted up in Spain, and the situation of the Continent, afford a promising opening. If England, by one virtuous exertion, should replace the springs of her domestic Government upon the ancient and constitutional basis, the charm will run through every department; the foreign policy will assume a new and consistent aspect; her armies will triumph without a risk of having their laurels tarnished by intrigues and contentions; her allies will look up to her with confidence, and respect; her enemies with fear; and the present generation may still bequeath to their posterity, a long succession of ages of glory, and prosperity.

From general reflections, the public were soon led to particular enquiries, and the little decorum that the King's second son, the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the forces, had observed in his pleasures, exposed him to a most formidable attack in parliament, involving in it the charge of corrupting and debilitating the whole army. Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia and member of Parliament, arose and complained

"To the House respecting certain abuses which had obtained in the disposal of commissions in the British army. In doing this, he said he should make no assertion in which he was not supported by positive facts. The power of disposing of commissions in the military service of England had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth, power, and influence; and he was sorry to observe, that this power had been exercised to the worst of purposes. But notwitstanding the high authority and powerful influence which the Commander-in-Chief possessed, no respect to either should induce him to swerve from his duty as a member of that house, or operate with him as a motive to screen his Royal Highness, in any misuse of his power or authority, from that public justice which was called for by the voice of the people. No other motive impelled him than a sense of his public duty; for if corruption were not attacked in a quarter where it was so formidable, the army and the country must fall the victims of its influence. It was necessary, in the first instance, to put the house in possession of the true purposes for which the disposal of commissions in the army was placed in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. It was for the purposes of defraying the charges of the Half-pay List for the support of veteran officers, and increasing the Compassionate Fund, for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; and, therefore, any commissions which fell by deaths or promotions,

the Commander-in-Chief had no right to sell or dispose of for his own private emolument, nor to appropriate for the like purpose any differences arising from the change or reduction of officers from full to half pay. He had thus explained, he believed, the nature of the power vested in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief; but he could bring positive proofs that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes from the legitimate ones required by the military usages and establishments of the country. If he could prove that those purposes were, in a variety of instances, abandoned by the Commander-in-Chief; that officers had been reduced to the half-pay list without receiving the usual difference in such cases; and if he could substantiate such a violation of the rights of military officers, it was a duty he owed to his constituents and his country to do so.

"In the year 1803, His Royal Highness set up a very handsome establishment, in a fashionable quarter of the town, consisting of a superb house and elegant carriages of various descriptions, for a favourite lady of the name of Mrs. Clarke. Of the lady's name he should have occasion to make frequent mention in the course of his speech, in connection with a number of names and facts, to shew the House that he had not taken up this subject on light grounds.

"The first fact that he should state was the case of Major Tonyn, of the 48th regiment, who received his commission as a captain on the 2d of August 1802, and was promoted to a majority in the 31st regiment, in August 1804. He meant no reflection upon this gallant officer, nor in the smallest degree to depreciate his merits; he meant merely to state facts as communicated to him. Major Tonyn was the son of a very distinguished officer, and might have purchased his promotion, if he chose; but this gentleman was introduced to

Mrs. Clarke by a captain of the Royal Waggon Train; and it was agreed, that upon his appointment to a majority, he should pay 500l. the money to be lodged at a house to be named, three days before he was gazetted, and then paid to a Mr. Donavan, a surgeon, in Charles street, St. James's-square. As he should have occasion to mention this gentleman (Mr. D) again, it was necessary to state, that in 1802, he was appointed to a lieutenacy in a garrison battalion. He had never inquired what was the nature of the services he performed; but certainly no military services, for he had never been near his regiment, and seemed to have a perpetual leave of absence. He could not account why this gentleman's appointment was not in his professional line, upon the Medical Staff, sufficiently extensive as it was for the purpose. The introducer was Captain Huxley Sanden. This money was appropriated by Mrs. Clark towards the purchase of an elegant service of plate from Mr. Purkis, a silversmith, the Commander-in-Chief paying the remainder. Thus it was evident that Mrs. Clarke had the power of disposing of commissions for purchase; secondly, that she received pecuniary considerations for promotions; and thirdly, that the Commander-in-Chief partook of the emoluments; and this he could prove, by the evidence of five witnesses, including the executors of Mr. Purkis.

"The next fact he would adduce, was that of Colonel Brooks, on the 25th July, 1805, and which was transacted through a Mr. Tydd, a medical gentleman of high respectability. It was agreed between him and Mrs. Clarke, that she should receive 200l. on his exchange being gazetted: the lady was extremly anxious, and said she could have an opportunity of getting 200l. without calling on the Commander-in-Chief, and on the Saturday following the promotion was gazetted. He should be able to produce Lieutenant-

Colonel Brooke, and Lieutenant-Colonel Knight; and he would be the last person in that house to bring forward such charges without competent evidence. He next stated a case by way of contrast to the last, for the purpose of shewing that such permissions to exchange were not easily obtained from the Duke of York. It was the case of Major M'Donnel and Major Sinclair, of the first regiment of foot. Major Sinclair had been a considerable time in the West Indies; the climate perfectly agreed with his health, and therefore he was desirous of going upon that service, and applied to the Commander-in-Chief; Major M'Donnell, who was in a puny state of health, earnestly applied to the Commander-in-Chief for leave to decline that service, apprehensive of the danger of the climate, and wishing to remain in England. But Major Sinclair was refused permission to go, and Major M'Donnell was refused permission to remain, and was ordered to the West Indies; and both gentleman fell victims to the arrangement, for they soon died. But they offered no bribe to the military patroness, whose influence could have prevailed in their cases.

"The next was the case of Major Shaw, appointed Deputy Barrack Master General at the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that the Commander-in-Chief had no favourable opinion of Major Shaw; but Mrs. Clarke interposed: he consented to pay her 1000l. Of this money, he immediately paid 200l.; shortly after he paid her 300l.; when she, finding he was backward in the payment, sent to demand the remainder; but, finding no chance of receiving it, she complained to the Commander-in-Chief, who immediately put Major Shaw upon the half-pay list. The Honourable gentleman said, he had a letter from Major Shaw himself, stating the fact, and he never knew but one other instance of an officer being

thus put on the half pay list. Here then was further proof, to shew that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to the army in general, and that it operated to put any officer on the half-pay list, and that the Commander-in-Chief was a direct party in her authority.

"The next case to which he should advert of the lady's influence, was that of Colonel French, of the Horse Guards. This gentleman was appointed to a commission for raising new levies in 1804, and the business was set on foot by Mrs. Clarke. He was introduced to her by Captain Huxley Sanden, and she was to have a certain sum out of the bounty to every recruit raised, and a certain portion of patronage in the nomination of the officers. She was waited on by Colonel French, of the first troop of Horse Guards, and as the levy went on, she received various sums of money by Colonel French, Captain Huxley Sanden, Mr. Corry, and Mr. Cockayne, an eminent Solicitor in London, in the following rates, viz. for a Majority, 900l.; Captaincy, 700l.; Lieutenancy, 400l.: and Ensigncy, 200l. whereas the regulated prices were respectively 2,600l. 1,500l. 550l. and 400l.; and consequently all this money was lost to the half-pay Compassionate Fund, to put money into Mrs. Clarke's pocket.

"The next instance was one in which the Commander-in-Chief himself was a direct partaker in the advantages of this traffic, by a loan to be furnished through Colonel French, the writings for which were drawn by a Mr. Grant, an eminent Solicitor of Barnard's-Inn, for the purpose of raising 3,000l.; but he did not receive it, because there was 3,000l. due from Government to Colonel French. Hence then it was obvious that Mrs. Clarke exercised an influence in raising the military force of the country, in disposing of commands in that force, and in converting the purchase of commissions to her own private advantage.

" Having said now enough of Mrs. Clarke, he would next proceed to the case of Captain May, of the Royal African corps He meant no reflection upon that officer. He was appointed to an Ensigncy on November 23, 1806; some time after, he was made Lieutenant. He had still the good fortune to remain a clerk at the desk of Mr. Greenwood, Army Agent. On the 15th of April, 1808, he was employed by the Duke of York, and before the end of the year he was raised to a Captain in the Royal African Corps, the third year after his first appointment, and without seeing service; thus promoted over the heads of all the subalterns of the army, without any regard to their long services and wounds in their country's cause, though many of them had lodged this money to pay the differences on promotion. Whether the honour and interests of the British army, and the feelings of the officers, were properly to be subjected to such a system, the House of Commons would judge and decide. He hoped, after what he had stated, the House of Commons would not refuse to grant him a Committee to enquire into those transactions; and if they agreed, he would pledge himself to bring as evidence before them Mrs. Clarke herself, and the whole of the other persons whom he had named

" There was another circumstance in this case which he could not pass unnoticed: it was the existence of a public office in the City of London, where commissions in the army were offered to purchasers at reduced prices, and where the clerks openly and unequivocally stated in his own presence, and in his hearing, that they were employed by the present favourite mistress of the Commander-in-Chief, Mrs. Carey; and, that, in addition to commissions in the army, they were employed to dispose of places in every department of church and state: and those agents did not hesitate to state, in words and writing, that they

were employed under the auspicies of two of his Majesty's principal Ministers. Having now gone through the whole of his statement, the Honourable Member concluded by expressing his hope that the House would grant him a Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions."

CHAPTER XI.

Further Enquiries.—Conduct of the English Commander-in-Chief.—Consequences.—The Emperor takes Advantage of the Tardiness of his Enemies.—Abolishes the Inquisition.—General Amnesty—Confiscations.—Threatening Proclamation.—State of Portugal.—Disposition to recover from the recent Panic.

A LONG train of enquiries took place in consequence of the information here disclosed, which although they did not justify any criminal proceeding, were sufficient to show the British Ministers that their conduct would require considerable amendment, before the arms of the country could be directed with any thing like success.

Opinion was greatly divided as to the degree in which the Royal Duke had acted criminally, perhaps the views of party mixed too much in the affair to admit a just judgment to be given at the moment; but, whosoever reads these pages will unhesitatingly conclude, that *without* any *criminal* intention, he was foolish and infatuated enough to have been the *passive* instrument of promoting all those base and improper practices, after he could forget himself so far as to write the following letters to an artful and unprincipled woman, to whom he was only attached by a temporary and irregular passion. Mrs. Clarke was examined before the English House of Commons, and in her evidence she gave in two letters, which were proved to have been written by the Duke of York.

The first had the Worthing post-mark upon it, and was dated August, 4, 1805.

"How can I sufficiently express, to my sweetest darling love, the delight, which your dear—dear, pretty letter gave

me, or how do justice to the emotion it excited! Millions—millions of thanks for it, my angel, and be assured, that my heart is wholly fixed on your affection. I am quite hurt, my love, that you did not go to the Lewes races. It was kind of you to think of me on the occasion. But you know me too well to suppose that I could think of adding to the sacrifices which I am but too sensible you have made to me. News, my angel, you cannot expect from me from hence, for the life I lead here is in the family, and I am hurrying them to leave this, that I may the sooner return to clasp my angel in my arms. Except Lord Chesterfield's family, there is not a person here but ourselves that I know. Last night the play went off better than the night before. Dr. O'Meara gave me your letter. He wishes to preach before Royalty, and I shall endeavour to procure him the occasion. What a long time it is, my darling, since we parted. I shall long for Wednesday se'nnight, that I may return to my love's arms. Adieu.

"Your's and your's alone."

The second letter was dated Sandgate, August, and was to the following effect:—

"How can I sufficiently express my thanks to my love for her dear, dear letter, and the assurances it contained of love. Oh, my angel, how you are beloved! Every day convinces me more and more how much my happiness depends upon her affection. How I long for the day after to-morrow, to return to my love, and clasp her in my fond arms. General Clavering, my love, is mistaken. There are no new regiments to be raised; they are only second battalions that are to be formed; so that his business cannot be done, and tell him so. Ten thousand thanks, my dearest love, for the handkerchiefs. The knowledge of the hands by which they were made will make them much more gratifying in the wea ing. Every thing has turned to my satisfaction upon my tour. I yesterday inspected the works along the Coast to Folkestone. Yesterday too I reviewed the 14th regiment of dragoons, which is a fine body of men, and in a high state of discipline. I also reviewed four regiments of militia, which took up thirteen hours. To day I go to Braybourne Lees, and to-morrow to Hastings. Adieu, my love, till the day after to-morrow."

This inquiry in one point of view will be important beyond the present age, inasmuch as it will enable posterity to determine why; notwithstanding we make so much noise about corruption and reform, so little reformation takes place.

Mr. Wardel up to the time when he made his charges, was not intimately connected with either

of the political parties in England, but as soon as he appeared likely to humble and degrade a Member of the Royal Family, he was joined and applauded with the loudest eclat by the English democrats, and by all that paltry unmeaning and unintelligible class, which arose out of the heterogeneous parties of whom we treated under the year 1800, and who now, in that country, style themselves reformers. This remark is of consequence in our History, because it comes in support of an observation we formerly made,—"That this body of men was in general so unprincipled, that they have acted *uniformly* upon no principle, excepting they have *always hung upon the rear of their own Government*, and prevented it from using the means of the country with sufficient effect to restrain the despotism of France." One of the most offensive acts of the Duke of York was, that of having given a Captain's Commission to Samuel Carter, a very worthy and good young man, but who happened to have been footman to Mrs. Clarke. To oblige Mrs. Clarke this circumstance was kept out of the foregoing list of accusations, it afterwards however crept out; this crime, in the language of the old world, was confounding the order of society, and introducing innovations into the state, but in the revolutionary style of the reformers, it ought to have been described as raising a plebeian to an equal with his fellow men: as royally paying voluntary homage to the equality of man, and trampling upon the prejudices of the age, by showing that nothing but a fair chance and good government is necessary to enable the lowest servant to wear the honours of a gentleman. This act was in character with the revolution that they had been calling for; but now they did not like it because it had not been procured by their own means. The principal ground of their attachment to the Revolution of France, was its having thrown down the artificial distinctions of birth and accident which raised

barriers in the way of man's pursuits, and prevented them advancing in life according to their inclinations and talents. All the abuse and calumny that they had heaped upon Mr. Burke, was on account of his foolish attachment to those capricious and nonsensical distinctions; yet as correct copiests of the demagogues of France, now that an opportunity presented itself for vilifying a branch of the Royal Family, the temptation was too strong to be resisted, and in order that they might run down the Duke of York, they descended so low as to flatter the very prejudices that they had been at war with for twenty years, and to trample upon all their own principles. How was it possible, posterity will ask, that Reform could be promoted by a little minded body of men, whose political movements could only be regulated by their personal antipathies or attachments?

In no instance has the inconsistency of this body of men been more gross than in their adherence to the cause of Napoleon; and to no one circumstance unconnected with his own superior talents does he owe more of his good fortune than to that inconsistency; for though every act of his reign proves that he has been the *sole* author of all the wars in which he has been engaged, and that for the *sole* purpose of rendering universal the despotism, which forms, and has formed the burden of all their harangues for twenty years; yet, have they found apologies for all his crimes, and applauded this hateful despotism, when it proceeds from him, merely from the petty and malicious, desire to see their own government humbled. How far persons guilty of such conduct are traitors to the common wealth of man, let honour and honesty judge.

Although, therefore, some advantages were likely to accrue from those enquiries, they could not be considered as an unmixed benefit to the country; for the degree of attention that they divert-

ed from the *real* business of the state, allowed the Emperor leisure to digest all his plans, and to prepare himself to repel any improved attempts that might be made to annoy him. Amongst his means of defence may be reckoned the exertions he was enabled to make for the consolidation of his power in Spain, by adjusting his brother's government; and with this object in view he abolished the Inquisition, and proceeded to dispense rewards and punishments as they were best calculated to strike terror or effect conciliation. A general amnesty was proclaimed to "all Spaniards who in one month from the entrance into Madrid, should have laid down their arms and renounced all alliance, adherence, and communication with England;" but from the benefits of this amnesty "the Dukes of Infantado, of Hijar, of Medina Celi, and of Ossuna, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the Counts of Ferran Nunez, and Altamira, the Prince of Castel Franco, the Ex-minister Piere Cevallos, and the Bishop of Santander" were excepted. They were besides declared traitors and made subject to be carried before a military commission in case of capture, and all their property was confiscated. The Council of Castile for having acted in the name of Ferdinand, after the departure of Joseph from Madrid, were declared cowards, unworthy to be employed upon any future occasion, and to wind up the drama with the best possible effect, the famous proclamation was issued amongst the decrees, as we have seen it alluded to by Berthier, to threaten these stiff-necked Spaniards, that if they refused to submit with a good grace to the *royal* government of Joseph, they should be forcibly brought under the yoke of the Imperial government itself; and according to Berthier's private opinion, this is the specimen from which we are to infer the grand Napoleon's title to universal rule.

Proclamation by BUONAPARTE.

Dec. 8, 1808.

SPANIARDS,—You have been misled by perfidious men. They have have engaged you in a senseless struggle, and you have had recourse to arms. Is there one amongst you, who after a moment's reflection upon all that has passed, would not be convinced that you have been the sport of the eternal enemies of the Continent, who take delight in witnessing the effusion of Spanish and French blood? What possible result would attend even the success of some campaigns? An endless war upon the soil, and a tedious uncertainty respecthe fate of your properties and lives. Within the space of a few months, you have been delivered up to all the afflictions of popular factions. The defeat of your armies has been the work of some marches; I have entered Madrid: the rights of the war would justify me in such a signal example, by washing away in blood the outrages offered to me and to my nation: but I have listened to the dictates of clemency only. Some men the authors of all your calamities, shall alone be punished. I shall speedily drive from the Peninsula that English army which has been sent to Spain, not for the purpose of assistance to you, but to inspire you with a false confidence and to mislead you.—I had declared to you in my Proclamation of the 2nd of June, that I wished to be your regenerator. To the rights which had been ceded to me by the princes of the last dynasty, you wished that I should add the right of conquest. That shall not make any alteration in my intention. I am even disposed to praise all that may be generous in your efforts; I am willing to admit, that your real interests have been concealed from you, that the real state of things has been disguised from you. Spaniards, your destiny is in your hands. Reject the persons which the English has spread amongst you:—let your king be assured of your affections and your confidence, and you will be more powerful and more happy than ever you have been. All that obstructed your prosperity and your grandeur, I have destroyed; the chains which bore down the people, I have broken; a free Constitution gives you a limited and constitutional, instead of an absolute Monarchy. It depends upon yourselves whether this Constitution shall still continue in your land.—But should all my efforts prove fruitless, and should you not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat you as conquered provinces, and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then place the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty; for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles." Given at our Imperial Camp at Madrid.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MARET.

Such an uninterrupted succession of miscarriages and defeats had greatly dispirited the Spaniards, and rendered it doubtful whether the cause of the Peninsula could ever revive; if it should, it was impossible to decide whether its resuscitation would be owing to the hopes of the people or to their despair. Meanwhile the British Envoy did all in his power to encourage the government to re-double its vigour; and to strengthen his arguments, he assured them, that his Sovereign, notwithstanding the late disasters, would send to the South of Spain the fleet with the supplies which had been promised. Many of the fugitives from Madrid fled to Seville, and aided the Junta there; and a resolution was taken, in case of the progress of the French towards the South, to remove the government to Cadiz, and maintain the struggle from thence to the last moment. In the interim the public attention was directed to the gallant defence of Saragossa, maintained by the hero Palafox, and the numerous instances of skill and courage displayed by the garrison and inhabitants, proved that nothing but a commanding spirit was wanting to call forth the energies of the Spanish people, and render them terrible to their invaders. The want of arms was so much felt at the time we are speaking of, that the governing Junta ordered a premium of 5,000 dollars to the captain of the first vessel that should arrive with a supply of musquets.

The government of Portugal was placed in a situation of extreme peril, by the general belief that the British forces yet remaining, would be obliged to re-embark; and in order to quiet the apprehensions of the people, a Declaration was issued, promising to resist to the uttermost, and calling upon the nation for support.

PORTUGUESE PROCLAMATION.

Lisbon, Jan. 21.

"PORTUGUESE!

"THE Governors of the kingdom have already pointed out to you the danger to which our liberty is exposed; and you took up arms with that enthusiasm which distinguishes a nation that has always known how to combat the enemies of its independence. Some enlist themselves under the sacred banners of their country; others, from a noble spirit of emulation, seek to instruct themselves in military manœuvres; every thing inspires a warlike spirit, characterising an intrepid and invincible nation.

"No rank, no condition excuses itself from military exercises? even the ministers of religion endeavour to shew, as they have already done, that they are intrepid soldiers, when the atrocities committed against the Divinity, the ravages done to our country, and the insults offered to our Sovereignty, are to be avenged. Portuguese! you will shew yourselves worthy of your name, and worthy heirs of the glory of your ancestors; a glory acquired by so many ages of uninterrupted victories.

"But what will these warlike preparations avail, if you suffer yourselves to be depressed by terror and the want of confidence? The governors of the kingdom do not mean to lead you astray. It is they themselves who tell you that the combined armies of Moore and la Romana have retired to the interior of Gallicia, leaving our frontiers uncovered; that these frontiers, from their great extent, are exposed to an invasion; that the Emperor of the French is accustomed to employ the whole of his forces when he attacks a nation; that his rapid marches do not usually give time for the reunion of the troops that are to act against him on the defensive; that he rushes on the capital, endeavouring to surprize the government, to spread anarchy and confusion; and that this mode of warfare exposes some cities and towns to the ravages of an invasion; but these partial ravages are not the same as the ruin of a whole state.

"In the centre of Portugal, our ancestors sealed our independence with their blood; and to the end, the Governors of the kingdom have directed measures of a cautious prudence. Elevated points that nature formed for bulwarks of our liberty, and deep rivers that cannot without danger be crossed, will be defended in a military manner: and if, in spite of this, the enemy of Europe should form the desperate project of proceeding to Lisbon, he will find around it a determined people, who will cause the glorious deeds of those times to be remembered, when its walls were the scenes of heroism. The military and naval stores, the royal archives,

and the jewels of the Crown, will find a secure deposit on board the ships of the Crown against any attempt of the enemy. But in all events the governors of the kingdom will not abandon the post that has been confided to them by the Prince Regent, our master; and faithful to their country and to their duty, they will shew themselves worthy of the Royal trust, and of the confidence of the nation, to whose honour and independence they devote their cares and labours.

"Portuguese! Assist the measures of Government: become soldiers to face the satellites of the tyrant, who, like a ferocious tiger, can never satisfy his insatiable thirst of blood; listen not to the insinuations of corrupt emissaries, who seek to weaken your energy, by spreading terror and diffidence. Valour and fidelity are distinctive characteristics of the Portuguese. By your fidelity you have known how to preserve, from the foundation of the Monarchy, our religion, principles and laws; by your valour you have been able to annihilate your enemies, maintain your independence, predominate in Africa, conquer the nations of the East, and establish a vast empire in the most beautiful part of the new world. We alone were able to work those prodigies of valour. Do we not still profess the same religion? Do we not still breathe the same atmosphere? Are we not the same Portuguese? A nation, faithful and brave, was not formed to be the slave of a tyrant. Our cause is just. The Almighty will bless our arms."

"JOAO ANTONIO SALTER DE MENDOCA."

The ferment amongst the people of Portugal was not unnatural to the threatened crisis; it was in fact, the impatience that generally sways the multitude, and which differs from the steady and measured pace of government, as obviously as the calm and dignified decisions of Reason differ from the eager and violent resolves of the Passions. Man is a being so essentially selfish, that he constantly imagines his interests affected by contingences which in reality have no relation to him, and the same ignorance and self-love that disquiets his mind with imaginary dangers, lead him also to exaggerate real ones; so, that whilst the largest part of any population is ill-informed, its terrors and alarms will be great in proportion to its ignorance. The government of Por-

tugal seems to have formed a more accurate estimate of the danger, and to have met it with a philosophic eye. Should the turn of fortune bring the enemy again upon their frontier, it were to be wished, that the people may confide in their measures with a docile acquiesence in their plan, as better calculated for national defence than any that might be suggested by the turbulence of the moment. It is an appeal to the reason and courage of their country, at the same time that it calls all its energies into use.

PROCLAMATION

Of the Portuguese Government.

Dec. 11, 1808.

"THE defence of the country is the first duty which honour, reason, and even nature itself, imposes on all men, when a barbarous nation, aims at enslaving a country, plundering its property, destroying its religion, violating its temples, and committing the greatest atrocities that the perversity of manners and inhumanity can imagine. Portugal, unfortunately, is threatened with all these evils, and its inhabitants have no means to avoid the horrors to which they are exposed, but by having recourse to arms to repel by force the odious and wicked designs of the enemy.—We have therefore resolved, that the whole Portuguese nation shall be armed in the manner which to each inhabitant may be practicable, that all the males, without exception of person or class, shall provide themselves with a pike, 12 or 13 palms, (6 or 7 feet) in length, and such other arms as their circumstances may permit.—That all the cities, towns, and considerable villages, shall be fortified by blockading the entrances and principal streets with two, three, or more cross-beams, in order that all the inhabitants may be enabled to defend themselves vigorously when the enemy shall present himself.—That all the officers in Lisbon, and administrators of districts, shall within the space of eight days from the date of this decree, deliver into the military governor general of their respective provinces, a list of such persons as from their activity, ability, good conduct, and the respect they are held in by the people, are qualified to take a command, always preferring in similar circumstances, those who are already military officers, and pointing out such of the said officers as by their age, incumbrances, or other circumstances, ought no longer to fill the posts they occupy.—That all the generals charged with

the military government of provinces, shall divide their governments into districts, and appoint an officer of known activity and probity, whether of the troops of the line or militia, whom the chief and other officers shall obey in consequence of the said appointment, who shall visit the different villages of their district, examine the state of the several companies, and from the persons recommended to them, appoint such for officers as they shall judge deserving and capable, who shall immediately begin to exercise their companies, which shall assemble on all Sundays and saints days in their respective districts, in order to render themselves expert in the use of the arms they have, and in military evolutions, comprehending all the males from fifteen to sixty.—Lastly, we have resolved, that every person who shall not take up arms, but refuse to concur with the nation in general, to the defence of our country, shall incur and suffer the punishment of death; and the same punishment shall await all those who shall furnish any succour or aid to the enemy, by supplying him with provisions, or assisting him in any other mode. —In like manner, any village which shall not defend itself against the assailants of the kingdom, but permit their entrance without making every possible resistance, shall be burnt and levelled with the ground.—And we hereby order all generals, military governors of provinces, the intendant-general of police, and all corregidors, auditors, and in general all officers military and civil, to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provisions of this royal decree, which shall be affixed up in all the public places, all the cities, towns, and villages of this kingdom, in order that it may be known to every inhabitant —Approved by the council of war, who will cause it to be executed."

CHAPTER XII.

On the Atrocity of the Peninsula Invasion — Previous Machinations to prepare for the Event.— The Apologists for Buonaparté, would have been the same for Henry the Eighth.—The Resistance that has been made, favourable to the Invader.— Gallant Defence of Saragossa.—Useless, because not seconded.—French Account of the Close of the Campaign.—Spanish Eulogium and Decree.

OF all the usurpations which history records, there is none more odious for systematic perfidy in the plan, or more shocking for uncoloured violence in the execution, than that which we have recently witnessed in the case of the Peninsula. There was so awful a warning in this event,—it was calculated to impart so irresistible a conviction of the true character and views of the French government,—that it is easy to conceive, how it happened to light into a flame so much feeling and energy as arose in Spain and Portugal; and a cursory observer will wonder why all nations of the earth did not burn with the same holy resentment. But the Usurper knew too well the force of that potent spell in which he had bound Europe to be deterred by this apprehension. He was equally well apprized of the resources and disposition of the people he was about to attack; and if his attempt has not as fully succeeded, it is not on account of misapprehension of consequences on his part.

More than two years before the invasion of Spain, it was a common topic of conversation, that the Bourbons were to be dethroned in that country, and a Buonaparté introduced in their stead.

This speculation was usually accompanied by a prophecy concerning the inevitable fall of Austria. All this, too, at a moment, when both nations were in alliance with France,—when Spain, which Mr. Burke, in the time of the Directory, denominated a fief of regicide, was to be considered, in every political calculation, as a part of the resources of France. This trait alone is sufficient to evince the profligacy of her politicians, and the sense which they entertain of the character of their government. They spoke of the necessity of *regenerating* Spain, as the Roman historians, who lived under Caligula and Domitian, speak with compassionate indignation of the slavery in which the Barbarians were held! For three years previous to the seizure of the royal family, Spain was deluged with French emissaries, commissioned to prepare the minds of the people for the event—and with French engineers and draughtsmen, who were openly engaged in mapping the face of the country, in examining the strong holds, and in exploring the locality and amount of the spoil which they expected to seize.

Beauharnois, the elder brother of the first husband of the Empress Josephine, was then sent as minister to Madrid, in order to prepare the development of the plan; his government displayed great anxiety on the subject of his mission. For more than a month he was constantly on the eve of departure, but was delayed from week to week on account of the new deliberations and arrangements which daily occurred. Beauharnois, although intrepid and positive, is of a mild and humane character, and was surnamed the *inflexible*, at the commencement of the revolution, in consequence of his steady adherence to the royal cause. He was either found too scrupulous for his station, or recoiled altogether from a co-operation in the crime; and was soon superseded by a more remorseless agent. The original plan

was, to transport the royal family of Spain to South America, and to seize upon the crown as a derelict. This scheme was to be accomplished, as circumstances must dictate, either with or without the assistance of the British. The consent of Charles and his queen was obtained, but the opposition of Ferdinand and his councellors intercepted their flight, and excited among the populace, to whom their intention was disclosed, the alarm which led to the first commotions at Aranjuez. The immense force which Buonaparté introduced, clearly proves, that he foresaw the possibility of the subsequent convulsions throughout Spain, and had made every provision against them which prudence could suggest. If the detention of Ferdinand, when lured into his toils by the blandishments of pretended friendship, shows that there are no refinements of dissimulation or artifices of perfidy of which he is not capable,—the massacre of three hundred innocent victims, whom Murat, the day after the tumult of the 2nd of May, caused to be grouped together and shot by his soldiery, in the principal square of Madrid, equally demonstrates, that there is no excess of barbarity, however atrocious, from which he would shrink in the prosecution of his views.

We must not suppose that Buonaparté was prompted to invade Spain, solely by the feverish restlessness of his spirit, and the desire of agrandizing his family. He was guided by other powerful incitements, of which the most prominent were: 1st. To gratify that unextinguishable fear which he has of the whole race of the Bourbons.—2nd. To collect an immediate and considerable booty, and thus to provide a new fund for the supply of his officers and soldiers.—3rd. To obtain more complete possession of the naval means which Spain could furnish, for the promotion of his designs on England. Although he might have preferred the unmolested occupation of her go-

vernment and resources, the chance of resistance was not to be regretted, according to his scheme aggression. Had the people crouched to receive the oppressive dominion of their invaders, even the shadow of a pretext would have been wanting for that system of confiscation, of robbery, and of proscription which he may now pursue, under colour of chastising rebellion. In the true spirit of a rapacious tyrant, he would willingly have made the criminal in order to punish the crime. The foundations of his throne may be more immoveably laid in the blood, than in the tame submission of the Spaniards. No mind will be found to stand erect, after the wretched experience of this struggle, in the midst of those horrible ruins which his triumph will leave,—and which by the terror they must inspire, will break down whatever elasticity of spirit may yet endure, either in Spain or in the other countries dependent on his nod.

Spain, when crushed by the weight of his arms, will, conformably to his menace, be treated as a conquered country, and declared the legitimate prey of the great nation,—to whose lenity she will be said to have forfeited all title, by obstinately resisting the accomplishment of his benevolent views. The denunciation already hurled against the opulent grandees, and the division of their estates among his officers, are but the first steps in that career of regeneration which Spain, so foolishly reluctant, is to run under the mild and wholesome sway of her philanthropic invaders. There are yet living among us, men of no mean understanding, who view the abolition of the Inquisition and the suppression of the convents, as resulting from that hatred for tyranny and superstition by which they suppose Buonaparté has always been marked; and who, if they had lived in the reign of Henry the Eighth, would no doubt have given him credit for the same motive,

when he abolished the religious foundations of his kingdom, and emptied their wealth into the royal coffers. The modern champion of religious and political freedom has, however, done more,—and, in an article of the constitution allotted to Spain, has substituted for the Inquisition, a police, in almost all respects similar to that of Paris, and hatched under the same incubation.

The result of his arts and inquires led the invader to form but too just an estimtae of the weakness and lañguor of the Spaniards. Two centuries ago, the House of Austria left Spain in a state of inconceivable wretchedness and decay. Under the two first monarchs of the Bourbon race, Philip the Fifth and Ferdinand, some little progress was made in resuscitating this once powerful nation. During the last reign *the degree of improvement, although small, justified a belief, that she might, without any general convulsion or the total abolition of the old government,* be raised to the level of the other commonwealths of Europe. But still Spain was an inert mass, a nerveless country, as Mr. Burke denominated her: of all others the most disorderly in her civil, the weakest in her military constitution—without the use, but suffering the extreme abuse of a nobility; with inveterate habits of submission to the most enfeebling excesses of religious and political tyranny. Her population was on the decrease. Her regular army, at the period of Bonaparté's invasion, scarcely amounted to forty thousand effective men, and she was altogether destitute of a system for the production of a national force of any other description. The only element of resistance which remained, the sole principle of animation, was that deeply rooted hatred to their enemy, which pervaded almost all orders of men, and of which the French government was fully aware. Combined with other impulses, this no dubt has great efficacy; but the experience of

mankind too clearly evinces, that it is not a motive of action, or a bond of union, sufficiently permanent and potent, to bear up an oppressed nation against a great disparity of strength and skill.

When the British forces marched into Spain, they found, what such considerations as these might have taught them to expect; here and there tumultuary assemblages, but no appearance whatever of regular military movements; and so far were they from discovering a disposition in the people to co-operate in the task of their own deliverance, that they experienced in their retreat little less inconvenience from hostility of the Spanish peasantry than from the pursuit of the foe. The letters of Sir John Moore, and the representations of the English travellers, who examined the state of the country are precisely of the same tenor. An effervescence was almost every where excited, but was allowed to evaporate in empty boast and menaces. Treachery and fear marked the conduct of the higher classes; who, by their example disarmed the passions, while they counteracted the efforts of the multitude. The juntas were almost universally bodies of inactive, illiterate, formalizing men; without the magnanimity to conceive, or the courage to execute, any prompt, comprehensive and hardy plan of operations. Great credit is unquestionably due to the defence of Saragossa, and to the spirit manifested by some few of the privileged orders, and by most of the professional men. But it must be apparent, upon an attentive survey of the history of this struggle,—that the exertions of the Spaniards were by no means commensurate with the extent of their physical resources; nor such as would for any time have frustrated the designs of Buonaparté, as the ensuing Bulletin will prove, for had such instances of resistance been general, the cost and fatigue must have greatly retarded the pro-

gress of the French arms; and have prepared the Peninsula to have taken a decisive advantage of any diversion that might have been made in any other quarter.

The English ministry committed errors in their mode of co-operation, of which they must now heartily repent. In attempting to rouse the moral energies of the country, they made their appeal to the prejudicies of slavery and fanaticism,—when, in such a cause, "the *soul of freedom*," and a deep steady feeling of self-interest in the minds of the people, were the only auxiliaries fitted to supply the absence of skill and discipline. Instead of sending their armies to meet the invader at the bottom of the Pyrenees, they dispatched them to a distant theatre of action;—not to the centre of the danger, but to the circumference, where nothing finally decisive could be effected, even with the most complete success. They had before their eyes a long succession of similar events to teach the necessity of vigorous and unhesitating exertion.

Palafox the most intrepid and persevering of the Spanish Generals, exerted all his decision and energies, together with all the heroism of the noble band who defended Saragossa, in vain; for their country-men contented themselves with admiring their gallantry, and praising their valour, instead of assembling in numbers sufficient to beat the enemy and cause a diversion in their favour. Saragossa, after sustaining one of the most cruel and obstinate sieges, that had been maintained for many years, was obliged to surrender to the French arms on the 21st. of Febuary. As this event took place at a time when Buonaparté understood that the British had abandoned the Peninsula, and deserted the cause of the Patriots, he considered the struggle of Spain at an end, and hastened to Paris, where a rapid succession of new events, rendered his presence pressingly neces-

sary. From Paris, the Emperor published what he expected would be the last details of the Spanish War, in the

THIRTY-THIRD BULLETIN

Of the FRENCH *Army of* SPAIN.

Paris, March, 9, 1809.

"THE Duke of Dalmatia arrived at Tuy on the 10th of February. The whole province is subdued.—He collected all his forces in order to cross the Minho on the following day. He was to reach Oporto between the 15th and 20th, and Lisbon between the 20th and 28th.—The English have embarked at Lisbon, in order to abandon Portugal. The rage of the Portuguese was at its utmost height, and every day considerable and bloody conflicts between the Portuguese and English took place. In Gallicia the Duke of Elchingen had completed the organization of the province. Admiral Massaredo is arrived at Ferrol, and has begun to revive the labours of that important arsenal. Peace is restored in all the provinces under the command of the Duke of Istria, which lie between the Pyrenees, the sea, Portugal, and the chain of mountains which cover Madrid. Security follows days of disorder and desolation. Daily deputations repair on all sides to the King, at Madrid: re-organisation and public spirit are quickly springing up under the new administration. The Duke of Belluno has marched to Badajoz; he has restored to peace and disarmed the whole of Lower Estremadura.—Saragossa has surrendered; the calamities which have befallen this unhappy town, are a terrifying example to the people. The peace which has been restored in Saragossa extends to the whole of Arragon, and the two armies, which were around the town, have been set at liberty. Saragossa was the centre of the insurrection of Spain; it was in this town that the party was formed which wished to call in a Prince of the House of Austria to reign on the Tagus. The individuals of this party had partly inherited these notions, which are irrevocably destroyed, from their ancestors, during the war of the Succession.—The battle of Tudela was won on the 23rd of November, and after the 27th, the French army was encamped at a small distance from Saragossa: the people of this town were armed. The peasants of Arragon had repaired thither, and Saragossa contained 50,000 men, formed into regiments of 1,000 men, and companies of 100. The general officers and subalterns consisted of monks. A body of 10,000 men, who had escaped from Tudela, had thrown themselves into the town, which was furnished with

provisions, heaped up in innumerable magazines, and defended by 200 pieces of cannon. The image of Our Lady of Pilar wrought miracles at the head of the monks, who, by such means, animated the zeal, and preserved the confidence of the multitude. In the field these 50,000 men would not have withstood three regiments, but shut up in their town, and wrought upon by the leaders of parties, how could they escape the miseries which ignorance and fanaticism heap upon the heads of so many wretches? Every thing possible was done to enlighten them, and bring them to reason. Immediately after the battle of Tudela, the belief entertained at Saragossa, that Madrid held out, and that they might be relieved; and that the armies at Somosierra, Guadarama, Estremadura, Leon, and Catalonia, might furnish a pretext for the chiefs of the insurgents to keep alive the fanaticism of the inhabitants; it was resolved not to surround the town, but to permit it to maintain a communication with all Spain, in order that they might be informed of the annihilation of the Spanish armies, and of the circumstances which attended the entrance of the French army into Madrid; but all this intelligence came to the ears of the ringleaders alone, and was unknown by the body of the people. The truth was not only concealed from them, but their courage was kept up by lies. At one time, the French had lost 40,000 men before Madrid, at another time, Romana had entered France, and the French eagles were compelled to fly before the terrible leopard. This period sacrificed to political objects, in order to allow a multitude to come to reason, who were infatuated by fanaticism, and a terror inspired by their enraged leaders, was not lost to the French army.—The general of engineers, Lacoste, aid-de-camp of the Emperor, and an officer of the greatest merit collected at Alagon the materials and instruments for mining, in order to carry on the subterraneous war, which the Emperor had commanded.—The General of division, Dedon, who commanded the artillery, collected a great quantity of mortars, bombs, and howitzers of every calibre. All these were brought from Pampeluna, seven days march from Saragossa. In the mean time it was observed, that the enemy had availed himself of this delay in order to fortify Monte Torrero, and other strong positions. On the 20th of December the division of Suchet drove him from the heights of St. Lambert, and from two outworks which were within reach of the town. The division of General Gazan drove the enemy from the heights of St. Gregorio, and with the 21st regiment of light infantry, and the 100th regiment of the line, took the redoubts which were thrown up in the suburbs, and defended the roads of Sueva and Barcelona. He also made himself master of a great laboratory near Gallego, in which 500 Swiss had entrenched themselves. On

the same day, the Duke of Cornegliano made himself master of the works and positions of Monte Torrero; he took all the cannon, made a great number of prisoners, and did great injury to the enemy.—The Duke of Cornegliano being sick, the Duke of Abrantes came at the beginning of January, and took the command of the third division. He signalized his arrival by taking the monastery of St. Joseph, and pursued his advantages on the 16th of January by taking the bridge of La Hueba, where his troops fixed themselves. The chief of battalion Stahl, of the 14th regiment of the line, distinguished himself in the attack on the monastery of St. Joseph, and the Lieutenant Victor D. Buffon was the first in the assault. The circumvention of Saragossa was not yet resolved upon; that was considered as inexpedient; and a free communication was still left open, in order that the insurgents might be informed of the defeat of the English, and their infamous flight out of Spain. It was on the 16th of January that the English were driven into the sea at Corrunna, and it was on the 26th that the operations before Saragossa were seriously begun. The Duke of Montebello arrived there on the 20th, in order to assume the command of the siege. As soon as he was assured that the intelligence which was brought into the town had no effect, and that a few monks governed the minds of the people, he resolved to put an end to these indulgences; 30,000 peasants were collected on the left banks of the Ebro: at Pardiguera the Duke of Treviso attacked them with three regiments; and, notwithstanding the fine position they possessed, the 64th regiment routed them, and threw them into disorder. The 10th regiment of hussars was on the plain to receive them, and a great number remained upon the field of battle. Nine pieces of cannon and several standards were the trophies of this victory.—At the same time, the Duke of Montebello had sent the Adjutant-Commandant, Gosquet, to Zutera, in order to disperse an assemblage of insurgents; this officer attacked 4,000 of them with three battalions, overthrew them, and took four pieces of cannon, with their carriages and horses. General Vattier was at the same time sent with 300 infantry and 200 cavalry, towards Valencia. He met 5,000 insurgents at Alcaniz, compelled them, even in the town, to throw down their arms in their flight; he killed 600 men, and seized magazines, provisions, and arms; among the last were 100 English muskets. The Adjutant-Commandant, Carrion Nizos, conducted himself gloriously at the head of a column of infantry. Colonel Burthe, of the 4th regiment of hussars, and the Chief of battalion Camus, of the 28th regiment of light infantry, distinguished themselves. These operations took place between the 20th and 26th of January. On the 26th the town was seriously attacked, and

the batteries were unmasked, and at noon, on the 27th, the breach was practicable in several places; the troops were lodged in the monastry of San-in-Gracia. The division of Grandjean entered some thirty houses: the Colonel Caloiscki, and the soldiers of the Weixel, distinguished themselves. At the same moment, the General of Division, Morlat, in an attack upon the left wing, made himself master of the whole fore-ground of the enemy's defence.—Captain Guttemare, at the head of the pioneers, and thirty-six grenadiers of the 44th regiment, had, with a rare intrepidity, ascended the breach. M. Babieski, an officer of the Voltigeurs of the Weixel, a young man seventeen years of age, and covered with seven wounds, was the first who appeared upon the breach. The Chief of Battalion, Lejune, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Neufchatel, distinguished himself and received two slight wounds. The Chief of Battalion, Haxo, is also slightly wounded, and likewise distinguished himself.—On the 30th, the monasteries of the Monique and Greek Augustines were occupied: sixty houses were possessed by undermining; the miners of the 14th regiment distinguished themselves.—On the 1st of February General Lacoste received a ball, and died in the field of honour: he was a brave and distinguished officer. He has been lamented by the whole army, but more especially by the Emperor. Colonel Regniat succeeded him in the command of the engineers, and in the management of the siege: the enemy defended every house. Three attacks were made by mines, and every day several houses were blown up, and afforded the troops an opportunity of stationing themselves in other houses.—Thus we proceeded to the Cossa (a great street in Saragossa) where we made ourselves masters of the buildings of the public school and university. The enemy endeavoured to oppose miners to miners; but less used to this sort of operation, their miners were every day discovered and suffocated. This mode of besieging rendered our progress slow, but sure, and less destructive to the army. While three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers carried on this subterraneous war, the consequences of which were so dreadful, the fire on the town was kept up by mortars. Ten days after the attack had begun, the surrender of the town was anticipated: the army had possessed itself of one third of the houses, and fortified itself in them. The church which contained the image of Our Lady of Pilar, which by so many miracles had promised to defend the town, was battered down by bombs, and no longer inhabitable. The Duke of Montebello deemed it necessary to take possession of the left bank of the river, in order that his fire might reach the middle of the town. The General of Division, Gazan, made himself master of the bridge by a sudden and impetuous attack, on the morning of

the 17th of February. A battery of fifty pieces was played off at three in the afternoon: a battalion of the 28th regiment attacked and took possession of a very large monastery, the walls of which were of brick, and from three to four feet thick. General Gazan then repaired with rapidity to the bridge, over which the insurgents made their retreat to the town: he killed a vast number, made 4,000 prisoners, amongst whom were 2 Generals, 12 Colonels, 19 Lieutenant-Colonels, and 230 officers: he took 30 pieces of artillery. Nearly all the troops of the town had beset this important post, which had been threatened since the 10th. At the same moment the Duke of Abrantes entered the Cossa through several covered ways, and by means of two mines, blew up the extensive buildings of the Schaals: after these events terror was spread throughout the town. The Junta, in order to procure delay, and obtain time to abate the terror of the inhabitants, sought a parley; but their bad faith was known, and this artifice was useless. Thirty other houses were possessed by undermining, or by mines.—At length, on the 21st of February the whole town was possessed by our troops: 15,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry laid down their arms at the gate of Portilla, and 40 flags, and 160 pieces of cannon, were delivered up. The insurgents lost 20,000 men during the siege; 13,000 were found in the hospitals; 500 died daily.—The Duke of Montebello would allow no capitulation to the town of Saragossa. He only published the following provisions:—[The garrison shall at noon, on the 21st, lay down their arms at the gate of Portilla, where they shall remain prisoners of war. Those of the troops of the line, who are willing to take the oath of King Joseph, may be allowed to enter into his service.—In case this entrance shall not be permitted by the Minister of War to the King of Spain, they shall be prisoners of war and sent to France. The worship of God shall be reverenced. All the artillery and ammunition of every kind shall be delivered up. All the arms shall be deposited at the doors of the different houses, and collected by the respective Alcades.]—The magazines of corn, rice, and fruit, which have been found in the town, are very considerable.—The Duke of Montebello has nominated General Laval Governor of Saragossa.—A deputation of the priesthood and different inhabitants has set out for Madrid.—Palafox is dangerously ill: he was the object of the contempt of the whole hostile army, who accused him of arrogance and meanness. He was never seen where there was any danger.—The Count de Fuentes, Grandee of Spain, who had been arrested by the insurgents two months ago on his estates, and found in a dungeon of eight feet square, was released: no idea can be formed of the miseries he had undergone."

Although it is acknowledged by the enemy, that Palafox fell into his hands alive, yet his death, was shortly afterwards announced in the same laconic style as those of Linois, Toussaint, Pichegru, and other persons; who could not have been suffered to live without inconvenience to His Imperial Majesty.

The seige of Saragossa was regarded in Spain, as so honourable to the nation, that the Government published an official eulogium on its defenders, and in the name of the King decreed upon the occasion such honours to them as never had been conferred upon a like occasion.

ADDRESS.

"SPANIARDS,—The only boon which Saragossa implored of our unfortunate King, when at Victoria, a mark of Royal favour was tendered, was that she should, among the Spanish cities, be the first sacrificed in his defence. You do not want, nor does Europe want, to recollect this generous incident, in order to add motives of interest and admiration in favour of that illustrious city. But when we behold the grand sacrifice actually offered upon the altars of loyalty and patriotism, the mind swells whilst it looks back upon the fearful and sublime path of immortality and glory which was then opening upon Saragossa.

"More than two months of this most sanguinary and cruel siege had passed away; nearly all the edifices were destroyed, and the rest were undermined; the living were exhausted, and provisions were consumed; more than 16,000 sick were struggling with a sharp and mortal disease, which hurried every day hundreds to the grave; the garrison was reduced to less than a sixth part; the General was dying of the contagion; his second, O'Neille, had already perished; and St. Marc, upon whom the command next devolved, was also sick, and weakened by a fever. All these things were requisite, Spaniards, to make Saragossa yield to the rigour of fate, and suffer herself to be occupied by the enemy. The surrender took place on the 20th of last month, on the same conditions upon which the French have entered other towns, and which have been kept as usual. It is thus the enemy was able to take possession of those glorious precincts, incumbered with prostrate edifices and temples, and peopled only by the dying and the dead, where every street, every ruin, every wall, every stone, seemed merely to say to the

beholder, *Go and tell my King, that Saragossa, faithful to her word, has sacrificed herself with joy, displaying her loyalty.*

"A series of events, as mournful as they are notorious, frustrated all the exertions which were made to relieve the city: but the imaginations of all the good, fixed upon her lot, accompanied her defenders in all their dangers, fought with them all their combats, compassionated their privations and labours, and attended them in all the terrible vicissitudes of their fortune: and when at last the means failed them of continuing a resistance which they had prolonged almost beyond belief, the intelligence of the disaster has so afflicted every heart, that in the first moment of anguish it seemed as if the torch of liberty were at once extinguished, and the column of independence overthrown.

"But, Spaniards, Saragossa is still standing, and lives in imitation and in example: she survives still in public spirit, which is ever imbibing lessons of valour and constancy from energies so heroic; for who is the Spaniard, proud of that name, who would be less than the brave Saragossans, and not seal the proclaimed liberty of his country, and his promised fidelity to his King, at the cost of the same perils and the same labours? Let vile egotists and men without courage be alarmed at these, but not the other towns of Arragon, who are ready to imitate and deliver their capital—not the firm and loyal Patriots who behold in that town a model to imitate, a vengeance to take, and the sole path of conquest. Forty thousand Frenchmen, who have perished before the feeble walls which defended Saragossa, cause France to deplore the barren and ephemeral triumph she has gained, and evince to Spain that three towns of equal constancy and resolution will save the country and disconcert her tyrants. Valour springs from valour; and when the unhappy who have suffered there, shall hear that their fellow-citizens, following them in the paths of glory, have been more favoured by fortune, they will bless their destiny, however hard, and look forward with joy to new triumphs.

"Europe, reflecting on the circumstances of this singular event—estimating the means of defence, and those of attack—and comparing the resistance which Saragossa made to the ravagers of the world, with that which was exhibited by fortifications of the first rank—will determine to whom belongs the palm of valour, and whether they are the vanquished who tore it from the conquerors. Time passes away, and days will come when those desolating earthquakes will subside, with which the genius of iniquity has tormented the earth; the friends of virtue and loyalty will then come to the shores of the Ebro, to visit those majestic ruins; and contemplating them with admiration and envy, will say, 'Here

stood that town which in modern ages realised, or even excelled, those ancient prodigies of self-devotion and constancy, which are scarcely credited in history. At first, without a single regiment, or other defence than a weak wall, or other resources than the energies of its inhabitants, it dared to provoke the rage of the tyrant, and twice withstood the impulse of his conquering legions. The subjection of this open and defenceless town cost France more blood, more tears, and more deaths than the conquest of whole kingdoms. It was not French valour which subdued it, but a deadly and universal contagion which deprived its defenders of their strength; and the enemy, when he entered the city, triumphed over a few who were dying and diseased, but he did not vanquish warriors, or conquer citizens.'

"These considerations of merit, glory, and public enthusiasm, have induced the Supreme Junta of Government to pass the following Decree:—

ROYAL DECREE OF HIS MAJESTY.

"His Majesty our Sovereign, Don Ferdinand VII. and in his name the Supreme Junta of Government, considering that the services rendered to the country ought to be estimated more from valour and sacrifice than from the issue, which often depends upon fortune; considering that Saragossa was not only not impregnable, but, in reference to military rules, was not even capable of defence, and that it has, notwithstanding, made a defence, such as no fortress, however strong, can boast of; and that honours and rewards which are granted to a people who have deserved so well of their country are, with respect to those who have perished, the just reward of their valour and martyrdom; with respect to those who have survived, a motive of consolation and resource necessary to abate the rigour of their calamity; and with respect to others, a powerful stimulus to follow their example; knowing that Saragossa will in the memory of Spaniards be an ever-flowing spring of heroic actions and civic virtues, which are to save the State from the desolating tempest; estimating as is due the singular glory which results to the Spanish nation from the admirable defence this city has made, as precious in the eyes of virtue and patriotism as the most glorious victory; and desiring, finally, as a mark of the high estimation in which he holds Saragossa and its inhabitants, to grant a testimony of its merit as singular and as great as the deserts it treats of, has been pleased to decree as follows:—

1. "That Saragossa, its inhabitants, and garrison, have deserved well of their country, in an eminent and heroic degree.

2. "That as soon as the worthy and brave Captain-General of Arragon shall be restored to liberty, for the obtaining of

which no means shall be spared, the Junta, in the name of the nation, will grant him that reward which will be most worthy of his invincible constancy and ardent patriotism.

3. "That every officer employed in the siege be promoted one degree, and that every soldier possess the rank and pay of a serjeant.

4. "That all the defenders of Saragossa, and its inhabitants and their heirs, enjoy personal nobility.

5. "That all the widows and orphans of those who have perished in the defence, enjoy a pension suited to their rank and circumstances.

6 "That the having been within the walls during the siege be considered as a claim on occasion of pretensions to future employment.

7. "That Saragossa be free from all contributions for the term of ten years from the date of the peace.

8. "That at that period the re-building of the public edifices be begun with all possible magnificence, and at the expence of the State.

9. "That a monument be erected in the square of the city, in perpetual memory of the valour of its inhabitants, and its glorious defence.

10. "That in the squares of all the cities in the kingdom an inscripton be erected, containing the most heroic circumsances of the two sieges which Saragossa has sustained.

11. "That a medal be struck to its honour, as a testimony of national gratitude for such eminent services.

12. "That to every city of Spain which shall resist a like siege with like constancy and tenacity, the same honours and perogatives shall be granted.

13. "That Spanish poets and orators be stimulated to exercise their talents upon this sublime subject; and that a reward be offered in the name of the nation, of a medal of gold and 100 doubloons to him who shall present the best poem, and the like to him who shall compose the best prose essay on this immortal siege; in both the object being not only to recommend to the admiration and memory of the present age and posterity, the valour, constancy, and patriotism of Saragossa; but to inflame with like warmth the enthusiasm of the nation, and fill Spanish hearts with the same love of liberty, and the same detestation of tyryany.

"The Marquis of ASTORGA, Vice-President.

"Royal Castle of Seville, March 9, 1809.

"MARTIN DE GARAY."

CHAPTER XIII.

New Negociations between France and America.—Treatment of the American Ministers—Sentimental Errors—Designs of France not of recent Origin—Capacity for acquiring universal Dominion—Means resorted to—Possess many Advantages above the Romans—Lessons from Machiavel—All Occupations prostrated before the Military—Pride of the French—Thirst for Conquest—The Conduct of the United States disgraceful.

IN our preceeding Volume we had occasion to state that France had professed a willingness to exempt America from the effects of her denationalizing Decrees; those professions became the subject of negociation between the two Governments, and as preparations were now making to bring America forward as a more prominent actor upon the great theatre of general devastation, we shall take rather an enlarged view of the subject.

Notwithstanding the constant intercourse between Europe and the United States, so extended is the chasm which seperates them, that very inacurate opinions are formed in one, of the state of things in the other; accordingly in America at this time many opinions were in circulation, which had been long abandoned even by that description of European politicians whose sympathies were so powerfully attracted to the success of French policy, both external and domestic, and were still in full vigour. Those errors were not merely speculative, but were of essential importance to the vital interests of that vast empire. There were indeed those who could not view them with an eye of indifference, or even without feelings of

dismay; and who said that the character of the internal administration, of the moral habits and of foreign relations,—that the laws and liberties of the Republic depended in a great degree, upon a proper understanding of the genius and dispositions of the French government. "Our destinies," said every enlightened American, "will continue doubtful and ambiguous, until we universally unite in the sentiments of cordial detestation for the profligacy, and of timely resistance to the machinations of a power, which, circumscribed by no law, and checked by no scruple, meditates the subjugation of this, as well as every other country."

There were however a great many whose predilections for French alliance, no calculations of consequences could be effectual to subdue; and who had not a sufficient sense of the character and effects of French despotism, to suspect that attempts might be made, either by treachery or violence, to yoke their country to the car of the common enemy of mankind. It was impossible to make them understand, that the systematic plan, the very nature of the government of France, is to grasp at universal dominion; that the evils which this gigantic despotism entails upon France herself are no less galling, than those to which the conquered territories are subject; that every where the luxuries of the rich, and the necessaries of the poor are alike assailed; that America not only shares with the British in the hatred which is cherished against them by the Cabinet of St. Cloud, but is equally marked out for destruction.

Admonition and reflection seemed alike banished from the councils of our Republicans, and with every example before them, as well as with the recollection of the contemptuous and insolent treatment which their Envoys had met with under the Directory, they continued to find apologies for the insults they received, and appeared determined to shut their eyes against the self evident proposi-

tion, that whosoever crouches at the feet of a tyrant, must submit to be kicked at his pleasure. The correspondence of Mr. Armstrong, is more like the humble suit of a slave to his master, than the address of an independant minister to an equal. The language of France was expressed by her conduct, and was as intelligible, as if in plain words she had said, "Do as I command you, or when *my time* comes you shall be punished for your contumacy." America, of all nations, ought to have seen the spirit of universal dominion that governed the French courts, for she has never been treated civilly but to answer some temporary purpose. Although therefore the government of America was most decidedly partial to the French, it was obliged to make a show of remonstrating against its imperial injustice; how suitably the dignity of the Republic was maintained, and how much respect the *great folks* of Paris thought proper to bestow upon it, will appear in the following correspondence!

From Mr. ARMSTRONG *to Mons.* CHAMPAGNY.

"MR. ARMSTRONG presents his compliments to M. De Champagny, and begs leave to inform him, that having, for some months past, made trial of the artificial waters of Tivoli without any useful effect, his physician has prescribed for him those of Bourbon D'Archambault. Should M. De Champagny have any communications to make to Mr. Armstrong, he will be pleased to address them, as usual, to the Hotel de Legation Americaine, rue Vanguard, 100, whence they will be regularly and promptly transmitted to Bourdeaux.——On leaving Paris, Mr. Armstrong thinks proper to state his regret, that the political relations of the two powers should *continue* to wear an aspect less auspicious to their future good understanding, than is wished for by those who are the friends of both.——That his majesty, (Napoleon), has a right to make such municipal regulations as he may deem proper, with regard to foreign commerce, neither is nor has been denied. For example, he may forbid the entry into the ports of France of American ships which have touched in England, or been destined to England; and *he may either sequester or confiscate* such vessels of the United States as shall infract these laws, after due promulgation and notice thereof; but *beyond*

this, the United States *hope and believe* that his majesty will not go.——M. De Champagny will not fail to seize the distinction which these remarks present, between the authority of municipal regulations and that of public law, and will decide whether it does or does not offer a ground on which a good understanding so long and so usefully maintained between the United States and France, may be preserved, and a degree of intercourse revived between them, which shall have the effect of reanimating their former industry.—Does his Majesty fear that the balance of trade arising from this renewed industry, would go to the advantage of England? Means are certainly not wanting to prevent this consequence. Would it not be entirely avoided by making it a condition of the commerce in question, that all ships leaving France shall take in some article or articles of her manufacture to the *full amount of the cargo they bring hither*——Ships sailing under this regulation would or would not go voluntarily to England. If they went voluntarily, it would only be because that country afforded the best markets for the production of France, in which case, the habitual results would be entirely changed, and England ceasing to receive a balance for her manufactures, would begin to pay one to the United States, on the productions of France. Could France wish a state of commerce more prosperous than this?——If, on the other hand, the American ships did not go voluntarily to England, but were captured and sent in for adjudication, it may be fairly presumed, that the United States would no longer hesitate about becoming a party in the war against England.—Thus, in either case, the interests of his Majesty would be directly advanced by the measure: in the one, the wants of France and her Colonies would be not only regularly supplied, but she would herself become an *entrepot* for the supply of the Continent: in the other, the wishes of his Majesty, as expressed in February last, would be directly promoted."

Circumstances have never left France in a condition to apprehend any sort of annoyance from the resentment of America, and therefore she has always treated its ministers like the representatives of a distant vassal, coming to sue for favours or to deprecate her wrath. This is what was long foreseen would be her conduct if ever she supposed herself powerful enough to set up herself as mistress of the world.

Hume, Bolinbroke, Ancillon, and most writers who have discussed the state of Europe before the

French revolution, concur in representing France as more inclined and better fitted than any other power for the attainment of universal empire. Her geographical position, the numbers, the compactness, and the martial character of her population, the ambitious projects and restless intrigue of her rulers, furnished her eminently with the moral and physical energies for this purpose. The history of the continental politics of the last century; the correspondence between the foreign ministers of France and their court, and the domestic annals of that court towards the close of the last reign, must convince every reflecting reader, that the French politicians of the day were profoundly sensible of their advantages, and eagerly sought an opportunity of exerting them for the establishment of an unlimited control over the continent. The obstacles to the accomplishment of this end before the revolution, are to be discovered—in the civil institutions, in certain established habits, and in the limited forms of government, of which France then partook with the rest of Europe. The balance of power, which for three centuries, prevented the destruction of any one independent state by violent means, and exhibited, before the dismemberment of Poland, nineteen distinct powers of the most unequal strength, is to be ascribed, not to the moderation or to the jealousy of the four great rivals, but to what may be termed, an *equilibrium of weakness in their military constitutions.*

It was computed by the most celebrated writers on political arithmetic, that no state could maintain at one time, without absolute ruin, more than the one hundredth part of its military population in arms. This arose from various causes:—1st, The necessity of proportioning the military force, the great instrument of dominion, not merely to the *numerical* population, but to that which remained after every deduction in favour of the

agriculture, the commerce, the manufactures, the luxuries and the aristocratic distinctions of nations, of whose governments it was the chief interest and the fundamental policy to cultivate the arts of peace. 2d; The maxim universally adopted, and strictly true under the former circumstances of Europe—that *money* constituted the sinews of war. The extent of the levies and the duration of hostilities in the former wars of the continent depended upon the financial resources of the belligerents. In every country the system of finance was more or less regular and equitable, and the monarch unaided by the expedients of violence and fraud, to which the revolutionary governments of France had recourse, was compelled to accommodate his military efforts to the poverty of his exchequer. The idea of supporting armies upon the territories of an enemy appears never to have been entertained, and could not have been carried into effect; as no one power had a decided superiority over the rest, such as the French acquired, in general tactics and numbers, and in the education and character of their troops. This state of things precluded the possibility of continuing for any length of time the momentum necessary for permanent conquest. Nations of husbandmen, of artificers and manufacturers, were utterly incapable of pursuing a regular plan, or of furnishing the means for the attainment of universal empire; nor could armies, drawn from looms and forges, acquire the spirit or the discipline to qualify them for becoming the masters of the world.

In conjunction with these causes, the pursuits of commerce, also, which became so various and complicate after the discoveries of Columbus, conspired to keep the leading powers within their proper sphere, and to prevent the exertion of

those means by which France has since been enabled to shatter the strength and to crush the independence of the continent. This tragical catastrophe, of which half the evils have not as yet been disclosed, was, moreover, retarded by the mode in which the French armies, together with those of all the continental powers, were recruited. It was obvious to every reader of ancient history, that the conquering nations of old could never have achieved their purpose, without a regular code of military education, and unless their governments had been invested with an unlimited command over the population of the territories subject to their authority. The system of voluntary levies is wholly incompatible with a plan of boundless aggrandisement, and therefore it was that General Jourdan exultingly declared to the Convention, when they enacted the tyrannical law of the requisition—"that the moment they pronounced the compulsory levy *en masse* to be permanent, they decreed the power of the republic to be imperishable."

Such were the shackles by which France was fettered until the period of her revolution, and from which she was released by that extraordinary event. Burke ascribes it, in some measure, to an impatience on the part of her politicians to see themselves engaged without impediment in the career of conquest. It is, however, unnecessary now to investigate the causes to which the first eruptions of the revolutionary volcano are to be traced; but in order to understand the character of the imperial government, it may be useful to examine what were the facilities with which France was furnished for the subjugation of the continent by the destruction of her monarchy and of her old institutions. Whoever reviews this topic will no longer be astonished that the nations of the continent were found so brittle; and that France

effectuated nearly as much within a few years, as the Romans were able to accomplish in as many centuries.

By the revolution her relative situation was totally changed. One of its first effects was the destruction of all those interests by which the old government, in common with the rest of Europe, was influenced and checked. While the other states of the continent continued to revolve in the orbits in which their maxims and habits retained them—France was loosened, as it were, from the political firmament, and prepared to pursue any direction, or to receive any impulse, which her new rulers might choose to give. In the decomposition of the original mass, materials were found for the construction of a new system, retaining the invigorating elements of the old, but shaped from the models of antiquity, and endued with a distempered energy more formidable than any degree of strength of which the constitution of the latter was at any time susceptible. It was predicted, many years before, by Guibert, a writer who had diligently studied the military establisments of modern Europe, "that the continent would be speedily enslaved should a nation, with the resources of France, break through the forms and trammels of the civil constitutions of the period; shake off fiscal solicitudes by a general bankruptcy; turn her attention exclusively to military affairs; and organize a regular plan of universal empire." Such precisely was the position of France, when, after the first years of the revolution, she had formed an immense military force, and the course of events had lodged an omnipotent authority in the hands of a body of enthusiastic and ambitious theorists who completely realized this view of things, and whom experience soon taught the truth of a maxim of Livy, that in war there are but three essential requisites,

" good soldiers, good officers, and good fortune."

Whoever attends to the progress of the French power, must be satisfied that it is not the work of chance; but, in a great degree, the result of a deliberate project for the subjugation of the universe, framed and acted upon even before the murder of Louis. The conclusions which are drawn from an attentive consideration of this subject, are sanctioned by the acknowledgment of all the actors in the scene of the revolution. They drew from the history of the commonwealths of antiquity those arts of fraud and menace, of violence and seduction, by which the latter were enabled to beguile the weakness, to ensnare the cupidity, to confound the judgment, and to overpower the fortitude of mankind. The archives of the Assyrian and Macedonian, of the Greek and Roman conquests, were and still are dilligently searched, for precedents in the art of combining cunning with force. The inveterate habits of intrigue—the vanity and ductility, which have always marked the national character—are all confederated for one grand and successful experiment,—that of trying, whether the master-springs of human conduct *are not at all times the same:* whether, with a deep knowledge of the temper of the age, with a congenial spirit and augmented means, *the same principles and measures, skilfully adapted to circumstances, will not give the same results.*

The world has seen with how strong and steady an impetus, they have urged the accomplishment of their views—and with what overwhelming rapidity of execution, they have demolished the public law and liberties of Europe. In the boldness with which they conceived, in the vigour with which they have perpetrated, their criminal enterprises—in the splendor and variety of their

military achievements,—in the evils which they have inflicted upon the miserable victims of their power—they have far exceeded all the examples furnished by the records of antiquity. Combining the subtlety of the Roman senate and the ferocity of the Goth, the wildest passions with the most deliberate perfidy—discarding both in their domestic administration and their foreign policy, the feelings of nature, the obligations of conscience, the ties of friendship, the sense of honour,—they drenched France as well as the rest of the continent in tears and blood, and have scarcely left the consolation of hope to those who examine attentively the present condition of Europe. The works of Livy and Sallust, and the commentaries of Machiavel and Montesquieu, discovered the closest parallel between the French and the Roman conquerors—in the structure of their military system, in the progress of their arms, and in the tenor of their deportment towards allies and enemies. From the first dawnings of their revolution the French were more favorably situated than the Romans for the attainment of universal empire. The obstacles in the way of the latter were more formidable and vanquished with more difficulty. In the first stages of their progress, they had to contend against nations who possessed military and civil institutions superior to their own, and whom they overcame only by adopting the excellencies of all. In the extension of their empire beyond the limits of Italy, they encountered, even from the barbarians, a vigorous and persevering resistance, inspired by the love of freedom, animated by the most determined hate, and supported by the most perfect unanimity. A barbarous militia, such as that which the Germans, the Thracians, and the Scythians opposed to the progress of their conquerors, is pronounced by Dr. Smith in his Wealth of Nations, to be more capable of defence, than

the standing armies of modern times, considered in their relation to the institutions of the period at which he wrote.

The French republic, "cradled in war," enjoyed, *ab origine*, an irresistible superiority over the nations of the continent. The latter had to contend, at the same time, against external attack, and against the danger of internal commotion, arising from the diffusion of jacobinism. Those of the south were at the mercy of the first invader. Their armies wanted both the courage which supplies the place of discipline, and the discipline which compensates for the absence of courage. The states of Germany and of the North never appreciated duly the character or the perils of the new war in which they found themselves engaged. It was no longer a contest about "the hoisting or lowering of a sail," or about "little carvings and partitions;" to be waged with irresolute and improvident councils, and to be terminated by timid and shuffling negotiation. As modern Europe had never known an universal dominion, they could not imagine a possibility of the conception or of the execution of such a plan. A certain association of ideas had become habitual, and was viewed with too much favour to be broken upon the faith of any prediction. To form, what the new state of things required,—new combinations,—by which all their hereditary prejudicies and useful antipathies, and the whole scheme of northern policy, where to be at once exploded, was an effort which the gigantic strides of their enemy had not then sufficed to extort. The power of the republic was at first despised as a mere *phantasmagoria*, and at length regarded with sentiments of despondency and dismay, which enfeebled every exertion. Nothing, indeed, but a total revolution in the internal constitutions of the other states could have prepared them to meet France on equal terms,—with a military system yielding

an inexhaustible supply of men, and a code of principles alike destructive to their domestic interests and to the general prosperity of the world.

Throughout all the changes of government which France has undergone, there has been an unbroken continuity of views and character. The power of Buonaparté is the mere offspring of the genius and necessities of the republic. He assumed the reins of authority at a crisis when it was thought necessary to commit them to a single hand, and under circumstances which admitted of no other rule than that of an enterprising military chief. It is said by some of those who planned the revolution of the 18th *Brumaire*, that the consular power was first tendered to Moreau; but that, on the *unexpected* arrival of Buonaparté from Egypt, the former designated him as a more suitable instrument for their purpose. It is not to the character and talents alone of the present ruler, however well adapted to his station, that we are to ascribe the career which France has run since his accession. This consideration, must be kept in view, because it leads to important conclusions. "The swing and impulse" were already given. He did but move in concert with the regular march, and can scarcely be said to have outstripped the inherent alacrity of the system which he was selected to administer. He has, indeed, adjusted all the parts,—strengthened the springs.—and monopolized the government, of this colossal engine of conquest, with a degree of skill and energy like that with which the Jupiter of the fable is said to have usurped and wielded the empire of Saturn; but he and his immediate predecessors were conquerors from necessity as well as from choice. To disband the armies would have been thought an act of political suicide, and it was difficult to maintain them within the limits of the French territory. Exclusive of other considerations, the state of their finances presented

an insuperable obstacle to the latter alternative. The regular receipts of the treasury were altogether insufficient for the expense. They had irretrievably deprived themselves of the resources of credit and paper circulation; and although, according to an idea of Mr. Burke, a savage and disorderly people will suffer *a robbery* with more patience than *an impost*, the expedients of violence could not have been available in a country completely ruined and exhausted. It is easy to show, from the representations of their own financiers, that no device of fiscal alchymy would have furnished the means of supporting the armies in the interior,—and that foreign plunder was, therefore, a necessary resource. It will be seen hereafter, that the same connection continues to subsist between them and the military system.

"A prince," according to Machiavel, "should have no other design, nor thought, nor study, than war." The extraordinary being who now governs France, is compelled to adhere to this maxim,—not only by the efficacy of habit and predilection, but from a consciousness that he cannot otherwise preserve his dominion. As the supremacy of the French power depends upon the military organization of the empire,—the existence of an emperor hangs upon the support of the armies. With Buonaparté, therefore, every measure of internal administration is but collateral to the main object. To be beloved in the interior is not his aim, and unfortunately not his chief interest. He knows that in a monarchy, from which the principal of honour is banished, the tie of obligation is miserably weak, unless strengthened by the apprehensions of fear. *At this moment the only measure of authority throughout the whole empire, is force.*

The superiority of privileges, the lustre of titles, and the substantial fruits of conquest, are chiefly lavished on the generals; but still he has

not forgotten another principle of Machiavel,—that men of influence and intrigue are to be conciliated by benefits, whatever may be the degree of oppression exercised over the mass of the people. The civil dignitaries, therefore, are not without an ample provision,—although he has cautiously abstained from investing them with such hereditary or corporate immunities as might restrain, while they would conduce to secure, the authority of the Sovereign. His personal character is well suited to the difficulties of his station. His military renown has an effulgence brighter than that of any of his generals, and has acquired for him the entire confidence of the soldiery. He has no scandalous undisguised vices, or periodical weaknesses, calculated to diminish with the armies the force of his reputation, or to counteract the ascendancy of his genius. The restless activity of his ambition, the comprehensive boldness of his plans, and the uninterrupted succession of great enterprises in which he is engaged, serve to remove domestic perils, in adding to the strength and majesty of the throne. No leisure is given for machinations in the interior,—no scope for ambitious projects among the leaders of the army. His subjects are kept in constant admiration and suspense. Splendid achievements and undistinguishing pillage constitute the necessary policy, as well as the natural and favourite pursuits of "the modern Charlemagne."

Throughout all France, the note of military preparation drowns every other indication of activity—and the thirst of conquest appears to supersede every other desire. In the capital, all the faculties of thought and action which either individuals or public bodies can furnish in aid of the general design, are applied and disciplined with a regular and effective subserviency, truly astonishing. On all sides, an unity of views,—an activity in planning and systematizing the de-

vices of ambition,—an eagerness for the issue, and a sanguine assurance of success,—almost incredible, are to be found; and these are in appearance more like the effects of revolutionary frenzy, than those of a concert between the insatiable ambition of an audacious tyrant and the *active* talents and natural propensities of a body of trembling slaves. From the commencement of the revolution particularly, emissaries have been scattered over Europe, and the Americas, in order to study and delineate their geographical surface. The harvest of their labours, now deposited in Paris, has furnished the imperial government with a knowledge of the territory of the other powers, much more minute and accurate than that which the latter themselves possess. The *Depôt de la Guerre* occupies, unremittingly, several hundered clerks in tracing maps and collecting topographical details, to minister to the military purposes of the government. All the great estates of Spain were marked and parcelled out long before the invasion of that country,—and it is not too much to affirm, that those of England and Germany are equally well known and already partitioned.

The idea of unlimited sway is studiously kept before the public mind,—and the future empire of France over the nations of the earth, exultingly proclaimed, in all the songs of the theatres and in public discourses of every description. Even the gaunt and ragged beings, who prowl about the streets and infest the night-cellars of Paris;—the famished outcasts,—many of whom are men of decent exterior and advanced age, beggared by the revolution,—who haunt the *Bouvelards* and public gardens, in order to enjoy, under the rays of the sun, that enlivening warmth which their poverty denies them at home,—and who, by their wan and melancholy aspect, excite the horror and compassion of a stranger, all appear to forget, for a moment, their own miseries, in

anticipating the brilliant destinies of the empire, and contemplating Paris, in prospective, as the metropolis of the world. The inhabitants of the country and of the provincial cities,—whose condition the war renders miserable beyond description, and who secretly invoke the bitterest curses on their rulers,—are, nevertheless, not without their share in the general avidity for power; and, when the sense of their wretchedness does not press too strongly upon them, can even consent to the extension of the national influence and renown in the light of a personal benefit.

The French Emperor appears to have formed a just estimate of the nature and extent of his power in his foreign, as well as in his domestic relations. While his armies, the irresistible instruments of his will, remain entire, he is satisfied that the standard of revolt cannot be successfully raised either abroad or at home. He disregards, therefore, the mere murmurs of discontent, and is careless about the individual distress or the general calamities to which the execution of his plans may lead. As long as he retains the troops at his devotion, and waves his victorious banners over the strongest parts of Europe,—he sees that no combination can be formed against him, which he may not instantaneously dissolve. "History proves," says Mably, "that when once a nation becomes greatly superior to its enemies in strength, it is possible for it to be detested by the whole world and yet successful in its enterprizes." The reader has but to consult Polybius and Cicero, to learn what were the calamities to which the Romans subjected the territories brought under their yoke, and in what detestation they were generally held. Insurrections were constantly bursting forth in the distant provinces,—but served only to rivet the adamantine chains of the conquered, and to open fresh sources of plunder to the conquerors. It is these that Machiavel counsels a mil-

itary usurper to provoke, in order " to strengthen his own greatness and to obtain colourable pretexts for rapine." How powerfully these principles have governed Napoleon we may judge by simply reviewing what we have seen of his conduct towards Holland, and Germany, and Prussia, and Poland, and Bavaria, and Saxony, and Italy, and Switzerland, and Spain, and America, and Austria, and Russia,—from whom no concession whatever has been able to purchase exemption from further encroachments until it has become necessary, " *in order to strengthen his own greatness;*" that such state should either be bartered away or held by the military occupation of his armies? America from its ignorance, and Denmark from a sense of its own weakness, have separated themselves from the family of mankind. They will purchase the sufferance of the Tyrant by this conduct, but they are not entitled to the respect of any one, and could they witness the crimes, to the perpetration of which their conduct gives countenance, they would hide their heads for shame.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, makes honourable Warfare against Buonaparté—Attempt to undermine his Reputation among his Subjects—Retrospective View of Swedish History—Why illustrative of this Subject—Seditions—Revolutions—Arrest of the King—His forlorn Condition—New Government—Inconsistences of English Loyalists.

THE conduct of the King of Sweden, amidst the violations of Buonaparté, formed a direct contract to the servile connivance of America, and differed very greatly from the temporising policy of most of the princes of Europe. He was not likely to be largely affected by the general plans for swallowing up all other states and merging them into the great Empire; yet, an incipient abhorrence of unrestrained tyranny, and an honourable determination to make common cause with those, who were immediately suffering under the oppression of unlimited ambition, induced him to keep up a sort of nominal war against the aggrandizing system of Napoleon. The war on the part of Sweden, was rather a war of honour, than one of either profit or loss, in any greater degree than she would have suffered by being at peace; for since the seizure of Pomerania by the French, there was no point at which the arms of the two countries could be brought into contract: the only military hazard therefore that the King incurred, was in the chance of the Emperor Alexander lending himself to become Napoleon's cat's paw to execute his schemes of revenge.

In France, and amongst her allies, the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus was ridiculed as rash and foolish beyond excuse, and agents were dispersed throughout Sweden, to represent him as insane, as well as by magnifying the injurious consequences of the war, to weaken his opposition or prepare his overthrow. The Swedish nation is not surpassed by any people in the universe for honesty and magnanimity, no part of it was corrupted, but its unsuspicious character left it open to be imposed upon by the plausibility of appearances. The commerce of the country suffered considerably by the actual state of things, and it was not difficult for both ignorance and art to blame the King, upon that account; and whatever remained of the lurking discontent against the Revolution effected by Gustavus the Third in 1772, was brought to bear on this occasion.

To form any thing like a correct judgment of the incidents of which we are about to treat, it is necessary to take a retrospect of the state of Sweden from the commencement of the preceding reign.

Sweden abounds in mines of copper, lead, and iron, with some silver, these may be considered as its chief wealth. Nor are other branches of trade unknown in that country. The Swedes have materials for traffic in the useful commodities of masts, beams, deal-board, and other sorts of timber for shipping; in tar, pitch, bark of trees, potash, wooden utensils, hides, flax, hemp, peltry, and furs.

No country in the world has braver soldiers; yet they have no standing army, as their military force consists of a regulated militia. The cavalry is raised, armed, and maintained by a tax, which is levied from the nobility; and the infantry is supported by an aid, which is demanded from the inferior orders of the citizens. It is only when their militia is embodied that they are subject to mili-

tary law. When this is not the case, they are governed by the civil law of the country. In point of number, their militia does not amount to more than fifty thousand men. Their naval power was formidable of old; for they could once have fitted out forty ships of the line. But of late their marine has gone to decay.

The Swedes, like their neighbours the Danes, were originally free; but after various revolutions their government became despotic. In this situation it remained not long; but the alterations produced were not salutary. The power of a king was brought too low; the checks of the constitution became too artificial and intricate; and the different orders of the state were thrown into confusion, and distracted with jealousies.

The power that had been purloined from the king was not used for the benefit of the state, but was exercised in the most arbitary manner by the aristocracy, insomuch that the prevailing party in the Diet, claimed the right of voting out of their body, those of their colleagues who happened to differ from them in opinion. From the year 1766 to 1772, the mutual jealousies of the different orders, and the general contention about liberty, kept the country in continual confussion, and exposed it to any foreign enemy who might be tempted to interfere. In June 1772, the Diet was engaged in a most bitter discussion on the conduct of some of the officers of government who were supposed to have interfered in the elections; and it was rumoured that some of the foreign ministers were intriguing to raise parties in that assembly. Disputes continued so long and became so violent, that the King Gustavus the Third, resolved to effect a revolution and form a government according to his own liking. There being no prospect of the Diet concluding, and a general apprehension having gone abroad, that a dreadful

storm was gathering, many of the nobles quitted the Diet and went to their country seats.

Prince Charles, the king's eldest brother, was gone to Scania to meet the queen his mother, who was expected back from Berlin, and prince Frederic Adolphus, the next brother, was in East-Gothland; king Gustavus remained in Stockholm under the disagreeable necessity of being a witness of all the peculiarities which happened at the diet.

To see his country torn by envy and bitterness, despised by neighbours, an amiable king neglected, violence and self-interest dictate edicts and resolutions, laws enacted without being obeyed, private persons enriching themselves at the expence of their poor fellow citizens, &c. excited a melancholy astonishment in every honest breast. Redress, as things then stood, was impossible; and a civil war and bloodshed seemed unavoidable. The madness of the chiefs of the reigning party was so great, that the consequences were neither seen nor dreaded. By chiefs we do not mean great and powerful lords, but some very insignificant persons, who understood the art of making themselves oracles amongst a multitude who thought little. They fancied their imaginary importance so deeply rooted, that no man should dare to breathe. Experience shewed, however, that they deceived themselves, when the gates of Christianstad were shut by the garrison on the 12th day of August. A proclamation was issued at the same time, signed by Abraham Hellichius, wherein they renounce all obedience to the states now assembled, whom they charge with the most arbitrary infringments both on the law and common security. Captain Hellichius, who commanded a battalion in the regiment of prince Frederic Adolphus, took every possible precaution to put the place in a state of defence. Some persons were arrested partly as suspected, and others partly for

a shew, but no violence was offered to any man. All the avenues of the town were guarded, and none could pass or repass without special permission. One officer however, who was put under arrest, found an opportunity of escaping from the fortress, and went with great haste to inform his royal highness prince Charles, who was then in Landscrona, of the garrison's desperate undertaking. It is difficult to describe the common consternation occasioned by this unexpected event. Many were dissatisfied with the measures of the states, and rejoiced at this little beginning as a prelude to more important commotions, in order to put a stop to the daring despotism of the states. Several of the chief nobility of Scania were assembled at Landscrona to wait on prince Charles. These were summoned, and his royal highness laid before them the unexpected insurrection in Christianstad, when it was agreed that the regiments quartered in Scania should be assembled, and Christianstad besieged. According to the fundamental laws, it was not allowed to assemble any troops during the sitting of the states; but now it was thought unavoidable, in order to maintain the public tranquillity, and to suppress a tumult in its embryo. Whereupon his royal highness's manifesto was published; and the regiments assembled, and marched to Christianstad in warlike order, the place was beseiged, but no bloodshed ensued. No man was molested or injured, either in the town or country, so that people were at a loss what to understand.

If the consternation occasioned by the siege of Christianstad, was great in Scania, it was still greater in Stockholm. The states directly appointed two of their senators to quell the insurrection, and to preserve the common peace. The one was to command the troops which were ordered to march to Scania, and the other was to defend

Stockholm and the neighbouring places. They also held consultations about securing the king's person; and a civil war, which every thinking person was apprehensive of, was now at the door. In case his majesty had thought proper, so as hitherto, to be only a spectator of the transaction of the states, the kingdom would unavoidably have been precipitated into the most dangerous situation, and the blood of some thousands of fellow-citizens, would have been a fortune in the midst of misfortune, if any redress could thereby have been obtained. Experience had shewn, that reasonable representations could avail nothing; other measures must now inevitably be taken with secrecy, speed, and courage.

On August the 18th there was a great drawing-room at court, at which king Gustavus appeared with his usual cheerfulness, and no anxiety was perceived in his countenance. On the 19th the senators assembled in the royal palace, and the secret committee in their usual place. The guards marched up to the palace on duty at the usual time. The king then stepped out to the companies of guards drawn up in the castle-yard, and represented unto them with a becoming dignity, the danger and unavoidable ruin of the kingdom, if a speedy remedy was not resolved upon. His majesty declared at the same time his abhorrence of arbitrary power, and desired nothing further than to abolish aristocracy, and to revive the ancient liberty, by restoring the old Swedish constitution, as it was before the year 1680; esteeming it his greatest glory, to be the first citizen among a truly free people.

Those of the life-guards that were present, did not scruple to swear allegiance to his majesty; whereupon the senators were desired to remain within the council-chamber in the palace till further orders; and no sooner had this news reached the ears of the secret-committee, than the members

thereof dispersed immediately. The king then resorted to the artillery-yard. Here a royal speech to the above purport, produced the same effect. All the guards and the artillery, followed the example of their comrades; canons were planted in the palace-yard, and in the squares, of which however the greatest part were not loaded; centinals were fixed in proper places, as well for the security of individuals as that of the bank. Taverns and alehouses were shut up, and the king himself provided for the accommodation of those upon duty. By a public proclamation the inhabitants of the city were admonished to remain within their houses with their gates shut, and were at the same time enjoined not to obey any orders but those issued by his majesty himself. The citizens of Stockholm and the admiralty, declared the same attachment and submission to his majesty as the guards and artillery had done. The whole vied with each other to advance the praise-worthy views of the king, and all aristocratical and anarchical notions were confounded before king Gustavus. This revolution commenced at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and at five in the afternoon all was over, quiet, and still. In the evening some persons were put under arrest, who had before been more eminently daring, though they were now quite still and dispirited. His Majesty had nevertheless that tenderness for their nearest relations, that he let them know, that those under arrest should run no risque. The soldiery patrolled all the night to prevent disorders. The day following his majesty ordered the magistrates of the city of Stockholm to meet in the grand square, where he signified to them the motives of his undertaking, and his sincere design to keep and maintain the law, to suppress licentiousness, and to revive the ancient liberty of the Swedish people, such as it was before the year 1680: upon which they all swore allegiance to the king with

gladness of heart. The states of the kingdom were also ordered to assemble on the day following, in the great hall of the palace. The states being met accordingly, his majesty entered the hall, and in a remarkable and pathetic speech laid before them the unhappy state of the kingdom, which envy, self-interest, and party-animosity had caused; shewing at the same time the necessity of a fixed form of government, which, as binding both to king and states, bridles licentiousness, stifles both aristocracy and despotism, and restores the kingdom to the glorious state which it enjoyed before the year 1680. After this the new form of government was audibly read, unanimously received, enacted, and signed on August 21, 1772.

Here did a boisterous storm produce a pleasant calm. Those under arrest were restored to liberty; none were injured, none molested; and the whole revolution was effected without the expence of one drop of blood. There is not the least doubt that several of the members of the Diet, had in many respects offended against the sacred person of his majesty himself. Nothing would have been more easy than to have sacrificed them to the violence of the populace or the soldiery, and the tragedy of the two *Witt's* horrible death at the Hague in the year 1672, might easily have been again exhibited; but Gustavus had on this occasion a more tender concern for the safety of others, than that of his own. A small genius often rushes blindfoldly into danger. The king foresaw the danger, but a pure love to his country, and the pleasing conviction of the probity of the Swedish heart when unbiassed, outweighed the danger. For this reason did his majesty, when he left his apartment to begin the revolution, address himself to the lords in waiting with these words: "If I am so unfortunate as to lose my life, tell my brother Charles, that my fall did not proceed from a Swede." He displayed the same intrepidity on

all occasions, riding about every where, sometimes with a large, sometimes with a small retinue, and sometimes quite alone, in order to preserve his subjects, by his presence, from any confusion or disaster. His impartial affection towards all, suppressed every evil intended by party-spirit. Persons in trust were continued in their offices as before, except the senators, whose authority, being appointed as deputies by the states to controul the regal power, now, by a meliorated form of government, in fact ceased of course. These lords were, by his majesty's letter of August 22, dismissed from their offices, and a new privy-council was nominated, most of whom had before sat at the council-table. Prince Charles was meanwhile received into Christianstad with open arms. General Sprengport, who was gone to assemble troops in Finland, in order to promote the revolution, returned, but was not wanted. The speech of king Gustavus, which breathed reason and conviction, together with an ardent love for his country, was more penetrating than the sharpest swords, and the most terrible cannons.

The censures passed upon this Revolution were very successfully answered by Professor Lagerbring.

That the change of the government of Sweden displeases envious foreigners, may easily be imagined; they say it is dishonourable to the nation, which in one moment gave away its liberty. The reproach had been just, if we had possessed any liberty at all, and if the true honour and welfare of the nation could have been promoted by this characterized metaphorical liberty. The royal authority was so curtailed, that in matters of the highest consequence, the king could neither do good nor evil. According to the doctrine of our new statesmen, the royal prerogatives (jura majestatica) were to consist in eating and sleeping.

Senators, and persons of the highest trust, were despised, and uncertain at every Diet, whether they should not be turned out of their places, even though their actions were supported by law and conscience; and should a senator displease a foreign minister, his fall was unavoidable; and yet the welfare of the whole kingdom was, at certain times, in the hands of the senators. No foreign courts could enter into alliances with Sweden, because no arguments could be depended upon. When the states were assembled, they were both parties and judges in their own cause: the bank was frequently managed by its greatest creditors. Alliances, peace, war, and the defence of the kingdom, were often conducted by persons who stood in need of court-almanacks, to know whether the Empress Catharine reigned in Russia, or Lewis XV. in France; and it was on occasion no small insight, if a man knew, that England and France lay west of Cattegate. A deputy from an obscure borough (which perhaps had formerly obtained a charter, because Oden fixed his tents there in the days of yore, and sacrificed men and beasts to the snake of Midgard) led a whole body of men with the authority of a little king, and a subaltern officer took the lead of a whole community. We do not mean to despise any condition or order of men: true merit is neither derived from birth nor credentials. But still it remains incomprehensible, how a raw sailor, lately come from his cottage, should know better how to manage a ship, or fleet, than an admiral, or an old experienced flagman. We know very well that the Romans took generals from behind the plow; the same did very well in Sweden too, when the jarl of Jerwa fought the great man of Solna. But now a man must be excused, who thinks a field-marshal understands the art of war better than a subaltern officer; an admiral navigation better than a raw

sailor; and that one trained up for the administration, understands the interest of kingdoms, balance of power, peace and war, better than a majority, which never has seen, or perhaps never read a treaty of peace. A packed majority appointed and deposed officers of state, judged about the property, honour, and lives of individuals; and if continued a little longer, would, no doubt, have found means to settle by votes, that the property of Brutus ought to belong to Caius; and because Paul had too much, his substance should be divided between Julius and Titius: perhaps there were already some advances made that way, under very patriotic pretences. To expect any help or remedy against it, was the more vain, as the evil lay in the very remedy, and the cure was worse than the disease. Who would defend such a sort of liberty? Law-breakers are generally cowards; an honest fellow-citizen ought not in conscience to support a disorder, that has impoverished the kingdom and community, and plunged it into contempt; and according to the former course, into an almost irremediable ruin. Every thing human may, and sometimes ought to be altered. Our love to God and our country must be unchangeable, and with such sentiments remains Gustavus III. immortal in the hearts of all Swedes, born and unborn. May God, who has given such a king to the kingdom, whom the exigency of the times required, but not deserved, make Sweden happy, and its happiness lasting! *Long live king Gustavus* III!*

Notwithstanding the strong reasons by which the Revolution was justified, notwithstanding the King's moderation and the wisdom of his government, the constitution that he formed was the

* A medal was struck on this memorable occasion, with this superscription: *Libertas Manens;* and beneath, *Proscripta Licentia.*

creature of his own will; and it could not be concealed that the nation was governed by despotism. It was not within the power of calculation to suppose that a people so jealous of their liberties as the Swedes, could be reconciled to such an order of things, or that they would omit any opportunity of breaking, what a very little persuasion might teach them to regard as a yoke of slavery; accordingly, after having reigned with great honour to himself and great advantage to his people for near twenty years; just as Gustavus was going to oppose the French Revolution as generalissimo, at the head of the combined armies in 1792, he was assassinated by Ankerstrom, one of the discontented nobles, who declared he raised his arm to revenge the departed liberties of his country.

No further opportunity seems to have been given to this spirit of revenge, to embody itself and call forth its powers, until the King's successor, Gustavus the Fourth, became the unfortunate victim of the two Emperors, and was robbed of Pomerania and Finland.

The loss of territory wounded the pride of the nobles, and the loss of commerce fed the discontent of the people; conspiracies were formed wherever the army assembled, and the King was so honest and unsuspicious a character, that he had taken none of the ordinary means to procure intelligence of such proceedings. The veil of mystery that shaded the affairs of the country for some time, was not removed until all were agreed that the monarch should be dethroned.

When hostilities were commenced against the King, he does not appear to have had a single friend near him; and as the first step was taken by the army on the frontiers of Norway, the standard of revolt was raised three days before he had any knowledge of it. Colonel Adlesparre at

Count Gottorp, ex. King of Sweeden.

Pub. by W. Day, 13. Goswell St. 1813.

the head of 2,000 troops took possession of Carlstadt, on the 6th of March, 1809, and having doubled his force by the addition of the same number of peasants, he announced his intention to proceed to Stockholm to demand the King to call a Diet of the states.

On the 9th, the King being informed of the insurrection, and of the advance of the insurgents under Colonel Adlesparre, dispatched a courier to the Western Army, with orders to remove Baron Cederstorm from the command in chief, and Adlesparre from his command under that officer. This courier was, however, prevented by Major-General Aldercreutz, and the King was told that all was quiet. His Majesty, in a day or two after, discovered that this report was fallacious, and determined immediately to proceed against the insurgents in person at the head or his guards. On the 13th, in the morning, his Majesty left his apartment to go down to the parade in front of the palace, with the intention of announcing this determination to the guards, and calling them to follow him. But while he was descending the great staircase, towards the parade, Major-General Aldercreutz, Colonel Milin, Colonel Jagerhorn, and some others, advanced to meet him, as if through compliment, and having surrounded him closely, General Aldercreutz addressed him, and said, that as all possible means had been tried in vain, to induce him to adopt councils consistent with the exigencies of the times, it had become necessary to have recourse to constraint. The King, surprised, but not deprived of his usual courage, said coolly, What do you mean? Am I arrested? All around him answered, yes. The King upon this drew his sword, and attempted to run Aldercreutz through the body, but was prevented. One of the conspirators, coming behind, seized his Majesty round the body, while the

others rushed in on every side, and overpowered him. In effecting this, however, the foremost, Count Shoilsky, received a wound in his hand from his Majesty's sword. The King, though overwhelmed by force, still preserved the firmness of his character unaltered, declaring that it was in vain to attempt to controul him by violence, and that his sentiments and principles would ever remain the same. In the night his Majesty was conveyed to the Castle of Drottningholm, from whence he wrote on the next day to his Queen.

So complete and well regulated was the conspiracy, that all the King's motions were known and directed under its influence, for some time before it was openly declared; most of his ministers and officers, upon whose information and obedience he depended, formed a part of it, and conducted themselves so as to lead on in the quietest manner the catastrophe of the Revolution. Had he discovered it before it had attained its maturity, the moment of such discovery would have been the moment of his arrest. He could not have frustrated the designs of the conspirators, but he might have raised such an opposition to their measures as would have occasioned much bloodshed. As soon as his Majesty was arrested by Adlercreutz, so much of the justifying motives of the insurrection as it was thought proper to publish, was set forth in a

DECLARATION

Of the COMMANDER *of the* TROOPS *stationed in* WEIMLAND.

"A CONSIDERABLE number of soldiers have taken up arms, in order to march to the capital, and relieve our common, now unfortunate, and dismembered native country.—As all our fellow-citizens must be sensible that our views are such as public spirit and honour dictate to virtuous minds, we cannot be mistaken in our implicit confidence, that our brethren in arms and our unarmed fellow-citizens, will not form any incorrect opinion of our sentiments and views. They are merely

these, that the States of the realm and our Legislators shall be at liberty to assemble and deliberate uncontrouled on the means of restoring the prosperity of our suffering country.—We have solemnly contracted the engagement to lay at their feet the arms we have taken up to procure them freedom. We will form a wall round the hall where Swedish Legislators hold their deliberations, which no power upon earth shall be able to beat down. We have solemnly contracted the engagement to destroy all such as shall still endeavour to prefer foreign connections to the internal welfare and tranquillity of Sweden.—Sweden's German dominions are delivered up to the enemy, and Finland, the native soil of a noble and gallant people, is lost. We have solemnly contracted the engagement that not a single inch more of the Swedish territory shall be given up to the enemy. Sweden's trade and mines are ruined and deserted; Sweden's youth are taken from agricultural pursuits, in order to be destroyed by sickness and the sword. The burthens laid on Agriculture are such that they cannot be borne any longer. Grinding taxes are exacted without mercy; desolation and misery are spreading wide and far, and threaten universal ruin.—We have contracted the solemn engagement, that the fathers of the country shall enjoy full liberty to restore the welfare and prosperity of the country.—May the higher and lower States of the common weal also join heart and hand to assert the freedom of the country, and thus, by harmony and well-concerted efforts, ensure success to our enterprize and views.—May the Fathers of the Country offer peace and amity to our neighbours, but accompany this offer with the assurance that every Swedish hero will rather be buried under the ruins of his country, than suffer a single inch of Swedish ground to be taken by our enemies, or transferred to them.—Our ally, Great Britain, shall learn to appreciate and value a nation, which knows how to break its fetters, and rescue liberty from its chains; France shall learn to respect a people, anxious to rival her military prowess; the rulers of Russia and Denmark, incessantly engaged in pursuits tending to promote the prosperity of their people, will not disturb the peace and tranquillity of a nation which merely desires to live or die independent.—We have seen with sorrow the most important concerns of Sweden managed in a manner which was as destitute of any well conceived plan as of success.—Might not the remaining strength of Sweden have been wasted by folly? but if directed by wisdom, may it not be employed for the real benefit of the country? Such are our wishes for our country, and we shall readily sacrifice our lives to obtain their fulfilment. It is of the utmost importance for Sweden, that every Swede should at length be allowed to return to a peaceful home, as far as can be done without any disparagement to the honour

and independence of Sweden.—The frontiers of the kingdom are for a short time left without defence, on account of our departure from thence; but should the enemy, contrary to his solemn promise, avail himself of our absence to attack them, we shall speedily return, take a severe revenge, and convince him of the difference of a warfare carried on by personal hatred of the rulers, and a war urged by a nation, anxious and determined to assert its independence.—We implicitly confide, that all military Commanders will readily co-operate with us, to secure, by speedy and vigorous exertion, the restoration of our lost prosperity, in the destruction of our foreign foes.—To conclude, we venture to express the wish, that our beloved countrymen and fellow-citizens of every rank and description may suspend their judgment on all further proceedings, until the decision of the States of the realm shall be known.

(Signed) The Commander of the Troops stationed in Weimland."

Prince Charles, Duke of Sudermania, the only surviving brother of the late King, appeared instantly at the head of the new government, and the addresses issued by him on the 13th, and two following days, prove that he had taken a leading part in the conspiracy, and disclose the policy that the revolutionists thought they should be able to adopt.

PROCLAMATION

issued by the DUKE *of* SUDERMANIA *on his assuming the* GOVERNMENT.

"WE Charles, by the grace of God, hereditary prince of Sweden, the Goths, Vandals, &c. &c. Duke of Sundermania, grand Admiral, &c. &c. do declare, That, under existing circumstances, his Majesty is incapable to act, or to conduct the important affairs of the nation: We have, therefore, (being the nearest and only branch of the family of age), been induced for the time being, as Administrator of the Kingdom, to take the reins of Government into our hands, which, with the help of the Almighty, we will conduct, so that the nation may regain peace, both at home and abroad, and that trade and commerce may revive from their languishing state.—Our inviolable intention is, to consult with the states on the means to be taken to render the future time happy to the people of Sweden. We invite and command, therefore, all the inhabitants of our nation, our forces by sea and land, and also the civil officers of all degrees, to obey us, as our real

intention, and their own welfare demand.—We recommend you all to the protection of God Almighty.

Done at Stockholm Palace, the 13th of March, 1809.

(Signed) CHARLES.
C. LAGERBRING."

LETTERS PATENT *and* PROCLAMATION *of his* ROYAL HIGHNESS *the* DUKE *of* SUDERMANIA, REGENT *of the* SWEDISH KINGDOM, *to all the* ESTATES *of the* REALM, *concerning a* GENERAL DIET *to be held on the* 1*st of* MAY, *in the present* YEAR.

"WE Charles, by the grace of God, assure you, Estates of the Realm, Counts, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles, Clergy, Burghers of Cities, and Commonality, of our particular favour, gracious intentions, and kind affection, under the protection of Almighty God.—Since we, according to our gracious proclamation of the 13th instant, have found ourselves called upon to take the reins of government as Regent, in order to save our beloved native country from unavoidable destruction, we have considered it of the highest importance to deliberate with the States of the Realm, upon the means which may procure and confirm the future happiness of the Swedish nation. We wish, therefore, and command that all the States of the Realm may assemble in the Capital of the Kingdom before the 1st of May next, and that not only the nobility may regulate their conduct by the laws for the House of Nobles given on the 6th of June, 1626, by the King Gustavus Adolphus, of glorious memory, &c. and revived and confirmed by King Gustavus III. on the 9th of November, 1773, but that the other States, which, as usual, send deputies, may observe the following order: from the Clergy are expected to appear the Archbishop, every Bishop from his Diocese, the first Pastor in Stockholm, together with so many from each Diocese as usual, and of the other States, as many as usual, all provided with necessary letters of deputation, in order that we may be able to begin the Diet, and after its being fortunately finished, give you permission to return every one to his province. Which every one must respectfully observe, and we are, &c. &c."

Given at the King's Palace, at Stockholm, March 14th 1809.

ADDRESS *of his* ROYAL HIGHNESS *the* DUKE *of* SUDERMANIA *to the* PEOPLE *of* SWEDEN.

"HIS Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania deems it right, and comformable to the duties of his high station, publicly to lay before the Swedish people, the motives and causes

which produced the important change, which has lately taken place in the Government of this country.—The archives of the state contain a great variety of documents, which will prove the necessity of that measure, both to the present age and posterity.—For this long time past the public opinion condemned a system of warfare, which so little suits a country, the commercial concerns of which claim that neutrality, which her fortunate geographical situation, that seems to secure Sweden, demands, and which was sacrificed by the Government. As early as 1805, Sweden, joined by other Powers, entered into a war with France, which from local circumstances, was then, however, confined to the loss of her trade with nearly all the States of Europe; a loss which, although not to be compared with that she has since sustained, was yet of great moment.—Soon after differences with Prussia arose, which, however, were not attended with consequences equally important. In 1807, the share which Sweden took in the coalition against France became momentous, and its influence on the dearest interests of the country more detrimental.—Swedish Pomerania was occupied by foreign troops, and Stralsund besieged; yet one prospect of more fortunate times yet remained included.—A continental peace was on the point of being concluded at Tilsit, and Sweden invited to form one of the contracting parties? Sweden refused; and in consequence of this refusal she was compelled to fight France, and her numerous allies, single-handed, on the Continent of Europe, and the siege of Stralsund was carried on with increased vigour. Even during that siege, nay, after the conclusion of the convention, which stipulated the evacuation of Pomerania and Rugen by our troops, offers of peace were made by the enemy, and rejected; and the German possessions of Sweden, the last remains of the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, were lost. Sweden had, however, to sustain losses still more severe. The winter of 1807, and the following year, serious apprehensions arose of an impending rupture with our neighbours, both on the East and West of our empire.—These apprehensions and dangers might have been warded off a few months before by the Swedish government, by its accession to the Peace of Tilsit; a peace which Sweden was not prevented from concluding by her own ally, which was offered on terms by no means irreconcileable with the public interest of Sweden—The war broke out in Finland, and its gallant defenders, at the end of a severe and honourable conflict, with an enemy far superior in number, was obliged to give up to him their beloved country. This misfortune, the most calamitous event which has befallen Sweden for centuries past, might have been avoided, if the powerful preparations of defence, which the situation and nature of the country admitted, had been conducted with wisdom and skill, and if the plans

of resistance, no sooner adopted than relinquished, had been conceived and carried into effect, with unity and firmness. Finland, which, in point of population and intrinsic value, formed one third part of the Swedish Empire, was lost, and this loss bore with the most destructive pressure on the two remaining thirds.—In this state of affairs, the means of waging war against such numerous enemies could not prove sufficient for any length of time, and no other resource was left than to burden with new taxes a people unable to bear them. The public necessities increased in proportion as the means and resources of the State were destroyed. Trade and navigation were at a stand; our mines and agriculture were unproductive from want of hands; universal ruin was spreading wide and far; and yet it was universally known that His Royal Majesty had again repeated his former firm and unalterable determination not to conclude a peace with the present Government of France, without which, however, no reconciliation with Denmark and Russia could take place.—In this situation of affairs a considerable part of the Western army formed a resolution to march to the capital with the patriotic view which appears by the Proclamation issued on their part. Similar movements took place among the rest of the Swedish troops, and it was in this critical position his Royal Majesty came to the unfortunate resolution of leaving Stockholm, and directing his family, and several officers of the state, to follow him. The garrison was ordered to file off, and it was intended to assemble an army in the South, to oppose the troops who were approaching from the North and West. Two distinct governments were thus to be formed, two armies to be assembled, and a civil war was to fill up the measure of our calamities and distress—The King's departure was, however, postponed until the 13th of March, at noon. An universal consternation prevailed. The most respectful remonstances against his Majesty's determination were rejected, and no other means remained even to secure the safety of the King's own person, than to prevent him from carrying his unfortunate resolve into effect. In these circumstances all the officers of state, in conjunction with the states of the Empire, who were present at Stockholm, expressed to his Royal Highness the constitutional wish that he might take the reins of government into his hands; a wish to which his Royal Highness, notwithstanding his advanced age, thought himself in duty bound to accede, confiding that this step will be viewed in its proper light by every honest patriotic Swede."

Stockholm, March 15, 1809.

Such were the grievances complained of, and the King being the immediate instrument of pro-

ducing them, few persons took into consideration the necessity under which he acted, but all expected to remove the evils by destroying the instrument by which it was brought about. Although much stress is laid in the preceding papers upon the loss of territory, the only loss that was seriously felt, was the loss of trade with most of the states of Europe; and this position is proved by the subsequent indifference of the Swedish Government to those very territories. Is there at this time of day then a single advocate for the Swedish conspirators? Who dare blame Gustavus for their loss of trade? It was the Napoleon system to which alone their calamities were to be attributed, and the King had no way of saving them from the threatened destruction, but by maintaining the fight against Napoleon. A few persons considered the subject in this light, but they were so few, that excepting a small part of the inhabitants of the province of Delecarlia, with Baron de Toll at the head, no sort of attempt was made to maintain the King's rights: he was forced to sign his abdication and to become an exile, under the travelling title of Count Gottorp, in the dominion of that tyrant, against whose usurpations he had struggled so zealously. His wife obtained a divorce from him, and abandoned him in his distress; and the Government of England, which had spent six hundred millions of money,—which had sacrificed five hundred thousand lives, and lost twenty years of peace and happiness, to recover the thrones of the French and Spanish Princes, who were its hereditary enemies; could not, that it did not, spare a single man, a single guinea, nor a single word in behalf of this Prince, who was at one time the only ally in the universe that remained faithful to England, and who fought for it most gallantly when it was deserted by all the world beside.

What a wretched picture does this give us of

the character of man? None of the inconsistences of the revolutionists that we have from time to time displayed, can surpass this single trait of the royalists; and this is not singular, for it could be matched by hundreds in their conduct. The King of Denmark, who was entitled to a considerable share of *pity* on account of his local situation, which rendered him inevitably the victim of one or other of the belligerents; and *of respect* on account of the temper with which he submitted to his fate, was made the constant butt of the sneers of the royalists of London. These gentlemen pleaded in excuse for their own violence, *the necessity* that laid them under an obligation to make an enemy, and then they complained of their passive victim for *being* what *they made him.* "We are told," said the London prints, "that the King of Denmark *has turned informer* and complained to the French and Dutch governments of the violation of the laws against the commerce of Great Britain, by vessels clearing out in the Russian ports with false clearances and proceeding to England:" So that having been forced to take one of the belligerents for an enemy, without any choice of his own, these loyal and generous upholders of the dignity of thrones could treat him as a proper object of abuse, because he avoided provoking the indignation of the other also. The King of Denmark was not a voluntary ally of France; and if he was obliged to maintain war to secure what he could of his dominions and independence, he was surely not inconsistent in doing all that was possible to weaken the enemy who attacked him. Yet the very power that tamely suffered the King of Sweden to sink under the charges of having rashly and inconsiderately committed himself in her cause, could hold up the King of Denmark as an object of constant ridicule and abuse, because he did not copy that fatal example.

As the remote degree in which the affairs of Sweden bear upon this history, does not call upon us to develope the whole series of intrigues, for which it has recently been the theatre; suffice it to add for the present, that to complete the misfortunes of the King, the Queen, his mother, was pervailed upon to visit him in his prison to persuade him that he was not the legitimate son of her late husband, but the offspring of an illicit amour. The Diet on that ground, passed a decree of exclusion against him and his heirs forever, and his throne was given to a man, who, whether born legitimate or not, certainly had *no more* right to it than himself.

CHAPTER XV.

Destruction of a French Naval Armament by the British—Jealousies between France and Austria—Preparations for the Invasion of England suspended—Insulting Attack made by Napoleon at his Levee upon the Austrian Ambassador—Imperial Dissimulation—Dialogues and Complaints.

AMIDST the apparently interminable combustion that daily increased the agitation and apprehensions of Europe, a ray of joy broke through the dark cloud by the *eclat* of a signal piece of mortification inflicted upon the Emperor of the French, in the destruction of a naval armament, under the most ignominious circumstances, on his own shores. The British officers had long evinced a spirit of indefatigable enterprize along the coasts of the Empire, which scarcely ever allowed a single vessel that ventured out of port to return again, but by various manœuvres, such as stealing out in the night, or creeping in-shore from port to port, a fleet of ten sail of the line and five or six frigates had mustered in Basque Roads, with the hope of finding shelter under the forts and shallows in the mouth of the Charente.

Lord Cochrane, one of the most gallant of the officers alluded to, was appointed by the Admiralty to the special command of an expedition, consisting of a detachment from the British blockading squadron, aided by a great number of fireships and bomb-ketches, and a new species of missile, named after its inventor, Congreve's Rockets.

The French Admiral, with a view to expose the

smallest possible front to the English fire-ships, disposed his fleet in two lines, and to afford them the best protection in his power, he flanked the whole by a boom 800 toises in length. The French officers were not destitute of skill, but the winds as well as their position, were against them. After a few experimental essays, the British commander succeeded in breaking through the boom, when the fire-ships ran in amongst the French fleet and took or destroyed all that could not find shelter up the river, after lightening themselves to diminish their draughts of water.

This annihilation of the last *visible* naval force of the Empire, was effected by so much desperate valour on the part of the English officers and sailors, that the French regarded them as more like furies than men, and these latter seemed reduced to the very lowest consolation of the vanquished—that of charging their antagonist with not fighting fairly.

"Such, say they, are the means which an enemy so much superior in the number of their vessels have not been ashamed to put in execution! They did not fight, but sent in infernal machines! They will proclaim themselves conquerors, whereas they are only incendiaries.

"The mode of using fire-ships is universally known; but the idea of cowardice, attached to the employment of them, had caused them to be renounced by all nations. They formed no part of the system of the naval wars; and when, in the 17th century, some adventurers made use of them, those miscreants were disavowed by their Governments, and a shameful death awaited them if they were taken.

"It is well worthy of the present Government of England to renew the use of fire-ships, to add thereto infernal machines, to augment, with unparalleled rage, all the means of destruction which a feeling of general shame had exploded; and,

finally, to expend such large* sums in a disgraceful operations, the result of which has so little answered the horrible expectations which it had excited."

As the spring advanced, 1809, the disputes between Austria and France became so numerous and were maintained with so much pertinacity on both sides, that war seemed inevitable; and *prima facia* there appeared a great probability that the exertions of Austria and Spain between them would at last reduce the pretensions of the great Napoleon. There is great difficulty in accounting for the motives of the war on either side, for each distinctly declared he had no claim upon his adversary, nor any ground of quarrel with him; both declared that they were desirous of peace, and that their only reason for preparing for war was because the other was deceiving him. Having indulged for several months in these mutual suspicions and recriminations, a paragraph to the following effect in the King of England's Declaration of the 16th of Dec. 1808, fell into the hands of Napoleon in Spain.

"And if among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated, the delusive prospect of a peace beween Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquillity, or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left to contend alone."

* It is estimated that in ships, bombs, powder, fire-works, &c. this operation must have cost more than five millions of francs.

This conjecture that their might be some nations "balancing" between inactivity and an effort to avoid ruin, beat so exactly with the Emperor's own forebodings, that all his apprehensions were kindled into certainties, and he immediately renounced all his projects against England; and the expedition against Sicily, for which Murat was prepared, and the embarkations which had been made at Brest, Boulogne, Flushing and Toulon, were all laid aside. Every thing was suspended, and the troops directed their march towards Germany, those of the Confederation of the Rhine were set in motion.

The grounds of quarrel, as they were captiously taken up on the part of France, and insisted upon with pertinacious exaggeration, rested chiefly on the changes and reforms that Austria had commenced in her military organization, and beside, that after having been remonstrated with and professed the most amicable sentiments towards France, those military preparations were continued with greater zeal, notwithstanding the severity of the season. The harbour of Trieste, it was said, was opened to the English; ships of war accompanied Austrian vessel, and conducted them to Malta, and those from Malta conveyed the English goods to the Levant. The Spanish insurgents were kindly received at Trieste. The Austrian Minister in Spain became the agent of the Junta in spreading their correspondence in foreign countries. The Austrian dominions had swarmed with lampoons against France; the newspapers of that country had circulated false intelligence concerning the affairs in Spain. Their writers had published a full narrative of the defeat of the French at Roncevalles; together with these menacing and hostile measures were added marks of ill will, which were suited to point out the end of these armaments, as well as the spirit of the system which Austria adopted.

Austria on the other hand, treated all these complaints only as evidence of a determination to seek a cause of war and to let no opportunity slip, and probably being admonished by what had happened in Spain, rather hastened her precautionary measures. Much bickering had taken place before the interview at Erfurth, and it was not the least galling part of the dispute to Buonaparté, that the Emperor Francis refused to acknowledge Joseph as King of Spain.

Whilst the gazette writers of each party were busy blowing the embers of discord into an open flame, Napoleon himself, between his interview with Ferdinand at Bayonne, and Alexander at Erfurth, by one of those decisive affronts which may be passed over, but cannot be forgotten, placed the Austrian Ambassador, Count Metternich, in a situation in which he was obliged either to dissemble or to compromise the interests of his court, by rudely attacking him at his public levee, and then sending the conversation that took place as a circular round to the ambassadors at all foreign courts. Perhaps a more curious document never was preserved. We copy the dispatch sent by Count de Champagny, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to General Andreossy, Ambassador to the Court of Vienna.

DISPATCH *of the* 16*th of* AUGUST, *sent to* GENERAL ANDREOSSY *through* COUNT DE CHAMPAGNY.

"MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

"HIS Majesty the Emperor is returned from his journey into the South of France. He arrived on the evening of the 14th at St. Cloud, and on the 15th, being his birth-day, with the usual ceremony, received the Princes, Ministers, Great Officers of the Empire, the Senate, the Council of State, all the public Functionaries, and finally, the Diplomatic Body. The audience which he gave to the Diplomatic Body was rendered remarkable by a long discourse his Majesty held with the Austrian Ambassador, of which I will, at least, transmit you a short sketch:—

'Austria means to make war upon us,' said the Emperor

'or means to frighten us.' M. de Metternich bore testimony to the pacific dispositions of his Government, 'If so, why such enormous preparations?' 'They are merely for defence,' said the Minister. 'But who attacks you, that you provide for your defence in such a way? Who threatens you, that you should think of being attacked? Is not all around you quiet? Has there been the least dispute between us since the peace of Presburg? Have I asked any thing of you? Has not the whole of our intercourse been friendly? And yet all on a sudden you have set up a cry of war. You have put your whole population in motion. Your princes have been running through the provinces, and you have sent abroad the same proclamations, and taken just the same steps you did when I was at Leoben. Was this only a new organization, you would have done all this more slowly, at less expence, with less violence, without creating such a ferment at home, or raising such a disturbance abroad. But your measures are not merely for defence. You have added 1,300 men to each of your regiments. Your militia will furnish you with 400,000 men which you can dispose of as you please. These men are put into regiments. A part of them are clothed, your fortresses are supplied with provisions. In a word, a sure sign that you are preparing for war is this; that you have been purchasing horses. You already possess 14,000 for the artillery. Such extraordinary expenses are never made in the bosom of peace. These expences are increased by those of your military organisation. Your men are paid with money; you have clothed a part of them, and found them with arms. This cannot be done but at great expence; and yet you confess yourselves the sad state of your finances. Your exchange, which has been for a long time low, has fallen still lower; your commerce has decayed. Is it then without an object that you have bid defiance to all such difficulties? Do not say that you were forced to think of your own security. Confess that all our relations have been friendly. You know that I ask for nothing and want nothing, and that I even consider the maintenance of your power under present circumstances, as very necessary to the European system, and the prosperity of France. I have put my troops in camp, in order to keep them in good discipline and activity. They do not encamp in France, because it costs too much. They encamp in foreign countries, where it is not so dear. My camps are scattered about. Not one of them threatens you. I should have had no camps, if I had had projects against you. And I was so very pacific, that I dismantled the fortress of Silesia. I should certainly not have had those camps, if I had thought they would have given you any uneasiness. A single word from you would have been enough for me: and I am ready to break up all of them, if it is necessary for your quiet.'

"M. Von Metternich having observed that there had been no movements of troops in Austria, the Emperor replied, 'You deceive yourselves; you remove your troops from places, where they could be without the least expence: you send them to Cracau, that if necessary you may be able to menace Silesia. Your whole army is collected together, and has taken a military position. In the mean while what do you want? Do you mean to alarm me? You won't succeed in that. Do you think the circumstances are favourable to you? You deceive yourselves. My policy lies open before you because it is honest, and because I feel my own strength. I shall take 100,000 of my troops from Germany, in order to send them into Spain, and I still have enough remaining to oppose you. You arm—I will arm too; and if it is necessary, I can spare 200,000 men. You will not have a single power on the Continent in your favour. The Emperor of Russia, I can almost venture to speak for him in his name, will urge you to be quiet. He is already little pleased with your connections with the Servians. He, as well as I, may feel offended by your preparations. He knows that you have designs upon Turkey. You pretend that I have such myself. I declare that is false, and that I want nothing from Austria or Turkey.

'Nevertheless your Emperor does not wish for war! I believe it. I reckon upon the promise he made when we had our interview together. He can have no feeling of revenge against me. I had possession of his Capital; I occupied the greater part of his provinces. He had all back again. I did not keep Venice for myself, merely that I might not leave any ground of dispute, any occasion of war. Do you think that the vanquishers of the French, in case they had been in possession of Paris, would have acted with the same moderation? No: your Emperor does not wish for war. Your Government does not desire it. The principal men of your country do not seek for it; and yet the movements which you have occasioned are such, that the war will take place in spite of you and myself. You have caused it to be believed that I have demanded provinces of you; and you have roused in the breasts of your people a national and generous sentiment which I am far from depreciating; they have run into extravagances and flown to arms. You have issued a proclamation, with a command not to talk about war; but the proclamation was equivocal, and the people said it was merely political, and while your measures were opposed to your proclamation, they believed your measures, and not at all your proclamation. Hence the insults offered by a troop of your new militia to my Consul at Trieste; hence the murder of three of my couriers, who were on their way to Dalmatia. If there are any more

of such insults, war is inevitable; for you may kill us, but cannot insult us with impunity. It is so, that the authors of the troubles of all Europe incessently excite war. It is so, they provoked the war by the insult offered to General Bernadotte.

'You are drawn by various artifices into a situation contrary to your wishes. The English and their partisans induce you to take all these false measures. Already they rejoice in the expectation of once more lighting up the flame of war in Europe. Their funds have risen 50 per cent. in consequence of the impulse which they have communicated to Europe. It is they whom I blame for all this; they are the cause that no Frenchmen can go to the baths of Bohemia without subjecting himself to insult.

'How can you permit such licentiousness? Do you meet with any examples of such conduct in France? Are not your travellers, your Consuls, treated with respect and distinction? The slightest injury done them would be punished in the most exemplary manner. I repeat it, you are hurried along in spite of you: the ferment which has been improvidently excited in the minds of your people, the intrigues of the English partisans, and of certain members of an order of knighthood, who have carried with them, into the midst of you, all the bitterness of vexation and revenge—all tend to involve you in a war. The Emperor of Russia will perhaps prevent this result, by declaring to you, in a positive manner, that he his averse to it; and that he will be against you. But if it is to his interposition only, that Europe is indebted for the continuance of peace, neither Europe nor I shall owe that obligation to you, and we can by no means consider you as friends; and I shall consider myself as completely at liberty to call upon you to make those arrangements which the state of Europe demands.

'What may in the mean time happen? You have levied a force of 400,000 men; I will levy a body of 200,000 men. The Confederation of the Rhine, which had disbanded its troops, will reassemble them, and arm the mass of their population. Germany, which had begun to breathe after so many destructive wars, will find her wounds bleeding afresh. Instead of evacuating, as was my intention, the province of Silesia, and the Prussian States, I shall again put the fortresses of Silesia in a state of defence. All Europe will be in arms; the armies will be drawn up in the presence of each other, and the slightest occurrence will occasion the commencement of hostilities.

'You say that you have an army of 400,000 men, a force more considerable than you possessed at any period of your monarchy. You intend to double it; if your example were to be followed, even the very women would soon be made to

take up arms. In such a state of things, when every spring is on the stretch, war will become desirable, for the mere purpose of unbending them. Thus it is, that in the physical world, the state of suffering which nature experiences at the approach of a tempest, excites a wish that the thunder should burst forth, in order to unbend and give relief to the contracted sinews, and to restore the sweets of a pleasing calm to heaven and earth; a violent, but short illness, is better than a long period of suffering.

'Meanwhile all hope of a maritime peace disappears; the efficient means of attaining it are rendered of no avail. The English smile with satisfaction at the prospect of discord being revived on the continent, and to her it is they confide their interests.

'Such are the evils which you have produced, and that too, were I to credit your professions, altogether unintentionally. But if your intentions are as pacific as you pretend, you must give proofs that they are so; you must recal the measures which have produced so dangerous a ferment; and this impulse, involuntarily impressed, must be opposed by a direct contrary impulse; and whereas from Petersburgh to Naples nothing has been talked of but the war that Austria was on the point of commencing, and which all your merchants represented as inevitable, all Europe must, I say, be completely convinced that peace requires that your pacific intentions should be universally talked of and confirmed by your actions as well as your professions. On my side you shall receive every assurance that you can desire.'

"Such, Sir, as far as I have been able to describe it, is an authentic statement of what his Majesty addressed to M. Von Metternich. His Majesty seemed to be moved, as men naturally are in discussing matters of such importance! He, however, exhibited only that degree of animation, which such a motive was calculated to produce; he spoke of the Emperor of Austria and his government with the greatest reserve, and paid many personal compliments to M. Von Metternich. This ambassador, who, it should be observed, has always given us assurance of the pacific sentiments of his court, was not, for a moment, placed in a situation of embarrasment; I had a conversation with him in the evening, and he felicitated himself on being employed at a Court where communications of this description could be personally made by a Sovereign to a foreign Minister, M. Von Tolstoy concurred with him in this sentiment. The Emperor, to those who are capable of comprehending him, appears noble, magnanimous, frank, attentive to all the duties of etiquette, and performing them with a peculiar degree of refinement, and that perfect sensibility which is awakened by the great interests of humanity. It might be clearly discovered that, equally prepared for war or peace, he

wished for the latter without dreading the former; and it was the general opinion that to so frank and magnanimous discourse, no other answer could be given that by declaring either that war is actually intended, or by proving the existence of a pacific disposition by deeds, rather than by words. You may make this dispatch, Sir, the subject of your conferences with M. Von Stadion. The Austrian government can entertain no doubts with respect to the sincerity of the Emperor's pacific inclinations. But the Emperor will have tranquillity as well as peace. If Austria attaches an equal degree of value to this peace, she will neglect no means of completely tranquillising the Emperor, with respect to her dispositions, and she will most effectually contribute to this object by giving another direction to public opinion; but this direction can only result from a change of measures."

It is impossible to dismiss this dispatch without being penetrated with the courtier like delicacy of this fawning animal of a minister, in the apology he makes for the rude bluster of his imperial patron. "He was *moved as men are*," &c. but if his animation had only been natural to the importance of the subject, it would have required no observation, and the introduction of this piece of delicate flattery, proves Mons. Champagny's consciousness that his master's conduct required to be excused.

If the prize, whatever it might have been, that was the object of ambition between the two Sovereign's, had depended upon their success in the race of dissimulation, instead of upon the power of their arms, they could not have cajoled each other with more even handed adroitness than they did. By the time that Buonaparté was ready to set out on his journey to meet the Emperor of Russia, whom he was desirous of placing as a watch dog over the Emperor of Austria, Francis sent an Ambassador extraordinary to meet him with a congratulatory letter in his own hand writing, as full of kindness and compliments, as if they were going to be the best friends in the world.

LETTER *of his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of* AUSTRIA, *to his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of the* FRENCH.

Presbourg, Sept. 18, 1808.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"MY Ambassador at Paris informs me, that your Imperial Majesty is about to proceed to Erfurth, where you will meet the Emperor Alexander. I seize with eagerness the occasion of your approach to my frontier, in order to renew the testimony of the friendship and high esteem I have formed for you, and I send to you my Lieut-General Baron de Vincent, in order to bear to you Sir, my Brother, the assurance of these invariable sentiments. I flatter myself, that your Majesty has never ceased to be convinced of this; and that if false representations, which have been spread concerning the interior organic institutions I have been establishing in my Monarchy, have allowed you to doubt for a moment in the constancy of my intentions, the explanations which Count Metternich has presented on this subject to your Minister, will have dissipated them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm those details to your Majesty, and to add whatever elucidations you may require; I beg of you to grant him the same marks of your favour, with which you were pleased to receive him at Paris and Warsaw. The fresh proofs of this which you may bestow upon him, will be an unequivocal testimony of the entire reciprocity of those sentiments, and they will put the seal to that sincere confidence which will leave nothing to add to mutual satisfaction.

"Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable attachment, and high consideration with which I am, Sir, my Brother.

"Your Royal and Imperial Majesty's good Brother and Friend.

(Signed) FRANCIS."

Nopoleon assuming as much innocence as if he had been the honestest man in the world, acted just as if he believed every word of this epistle, because it was his interest, if possible, to let every thing sleep quiet in the North, until he had accomplished all his plans in Spain; he therefore inclosed the letter of the Emperor Francis in the following, and subsequently answered that Prince himself.

LETTER *of his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR NAPOLEON, *to the* KINGS *of* BAVARIA, SAXONY, WESTPHALIA, WURTEMBURG, *the* GRAND DUKE *of* BURG, *and the* PRINCE PRIMATE.

Erfurth, Oct. 12, 1808.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"THE assurances given by the Court of Vienna that the Militia were dismissed, and would not be again assembled—that no armament should give further disquietude on the frontiers of the Confederation—the annexed letter which I have just received from the Emperor of Austria—the reiterated protestations which have been made me by Baron Vincent, and more than this, the actual commencement in Austria of the execution of the different promises which have been made, induce me to write to your Majesty, that I think the tranquility of the States of the Confederation is in no way menaced, and that your Majesty may discharge your camps, and dismiss the troops to their ordinary quarters. I think it expedient, that your Minister at Vienna be instructed to hold this language: that the camps will be re-formed, and the troops of the Confederation and the Protector will be put into hostile positions whenever Austria shall make extraordinary and unusual armaments; finally that we want tranquility and security.

"Being, &c. (Signed) NAPOLEON."

LETTER *of his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR NAPOLEON, *to his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of* AUSTRIA.

Erfurth, Oct. 14, 1808.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"I THANK your Imperial and Royal Majesty for the letter you have been pleased to write, and which Baron Vincent has remitted to me. I never doubted the upright intentions of your Majesty, but I did not therefore the less fear, for a moment, to see hostilities renewed between us. There is at Vienna a faction, which affects fear in order to precipitate your Cabinet into violent measures, which would be the origin of calamities more great than those which have gone before. I had it in my power to dismember the Monarchy of your Majesty, or at least to render it less powerful. I have not desired this. What it is, it is with my full assent. This is the most evident proof that I have settled all accounts with you, and that I want nothing from you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your Monarchy. I shall never do any thing contrary to the principal interests of your States. But your Majesty ought not to revive the discussion of what fifteen years of war have terminated. You ought to prohibit every proclamation or step which excites to war. The last

levy in mass would have produced war, if I could have feared that that levy and those preparations were combined with Russia. I have just discharged the camps of the Confederation. One hundered thousand of my troops are going to Boulogne, to renew my projects against England. Your Majesty will abstain from every armament which can give disquietude, and cause a diversion in favour of England. I believed, when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the Treaty of Presburg, that our affairs were settled for ever, and that I might, without uneasiness or interruption, devote myself to the maritime war. May your Majesty beware of those who, speaking of the dangers of your Monarchy, trouble your repose, and that of your family and people. These alone are dangerous; these alone invite the perils which they affect to fear. By a conduct upright, simple, and open, your Majesty will render your people happy: you will yourself enjoy that felicity of which you stand in need after so many troubles; and will be sure of finding in me a man determined to do nothing against your principal interests. May your measures evince confidence; they will inspire it. The best policy at the present moment is simplicity and truth. Intrust to me your disquietude; should I occasion it, I will dissipate it at once.

"I beg your Majesty to interpret my letter in a good sense, and to read nothing in it, which is not for the welfare and tranquillity of Europe and your Majesty.

In adopting this policy of overstrained complaisance, Austria, as generally happens in such cases, out-witted herself, for Buonaparté redoubled his energies, as we have seen, to defeat the Spaniards and expel the British from the Peninsula, during the interval that he would find necessary to fit a new pretence to the circumstances. King George's Declaration already alluded to, enabled him to be before hand with her, and sending off immediate orders for the march of his own armies and the contingents of the Confederation, he was perfectly ready at the moment she declared herself.

Previous to the commencement of hostilities, another long dialogue took place with the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, not as before with the Emperor himself but with the Minister Champagny, which was embodied in the form of a report

to Napoleon, which may be considered as a digest of all the communications that *passed* and manifestoes that were subsequently published by the respective Courts, to develope the nature of their complaints.

REPORT *of* COUNT DE CHAMPAGNY, *to his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR.

Paris, March 2, 1809.

"SIRE,

"I HAVE the honour of laying before your Majesty, a sketch of my conversation with the Ambassador from the Court of Vienna.

"I beg your Majesty to accept the assurances of the respect with which I am, &c.

"The Austrian Ambassador came to the office of the Minister of his Majesty this day, the 2d of March, and entered his cabinet at half past three, with whom he held the following dialogue:—

AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR.—"Count, I am come to announce the arrival of Count de Mier; he has been eleven days coming from Vienna to Paris; he found the road covered with snow and troops. I am authorised to inform you, that the next courier will bring the answer of my Court to different notes, which you transmitted me, on the subject of the Italian officer insulted at Trieste, and the act of violence committed upon a man of Udino. His Majesty the Emperor, my master, commanded inquiries to be instituted, the result of which had not reached Vienna.

MINISTER—"I hope, then, Sir, that your courier will have to announce the repression of such outrages, which I am sorry I have so often had just occasion to complain of.

AMBASSADOR.—"I have also received orders from my Court to inform your Excellency, that, as I had foreseen, the return of the Emperor Napoleon, the order given to the Princes of the Rhenish league, and further, some articles inserted in the French and German papers, have given just disquietude to my Court, and that it has thought it its duty to remove its troops from the peace establishment, on which they were placed till now. But that the Emperor, my Master, being always animated by the same sentiments, adopts this measure only because he is forced to it, and that he maintains towards France the most pacific dispositions.

MINISTER—"Do you mean to make war upon us, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur?

AMBASSADOR.—"Had we wished to make war we should not have waited till now; before the month of January our troops would have been upon the Rhine.

MINISTER—"That would not have been so easy, Monsieur de Metternich. The means we have of opposing you now were in existence in January.

AMBASSADOR.—"But the Emperor was in Spain.

MINISTER.—"Yes, but in 1805 you were at Ulm, while he was at Boulogne; and he did not come too late——Be honest. If you cause troops to march, it is because the English faction has gained the ascendency at Vienna: fears are affected in order to mislead and draw on the Emperor. They who are in the secret, and who direct what his going on, feel none. Besides, they can have none. How can you be apprehensive at present when you were not alarmed last August? The Emperor was not in Spain. He then covered the whole of Germany with his troops; he occupied your rear in Silesia, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The troops of the Confederation were encamped, and you nevertheless remained tranquil. You alarm yourselves at the return of the Emperor, as if he were to remain always in Spain; you complain of the advice he gave to the Princes of the Confederation, as if that advice, become necessary from the continuance of your armaments, were any thing more than advice to be ready; and you tell me that your are marching troops! Not a man belonging to France or the Confederation has marched. If you have not made war on the Emperor, you have taken away his reliance upon peace; you have precipitated his return; you have prevented his pursuing the English in person, and intercepting their march to the sea; you have stopped expeditions projected against England; troops which were proceeding to Toulon and Boulogne have suspended their march at Lyons and Metz, in consequence of your menaces. You have served England. Need I mention the ferment you have raised in the Austrian States—the public opinion which you have turned against France—the insults committed at Trieste against French and Italian officers—the assassination of our couriers, &c. which remained so long unpunished, the article in the *Presbourg Gazette*—the false news concerning Spain — the reception at Trieste of the officers of the Spanish frigate sent by the insurgents—the libel of M. Cevallos, circulated so profusely at Vienna?

AMBASSADOR.—"Sir, that pamphlet came to me from Munich.

MINISTER.—"Could it not be sent there from Vienna? Besides, the book was sold at Vienna, and sold with the permission of the police. I myself saw the advertisement of it, and no books are advertised but those the police permits to be published. However, to go on—in all parts your agents have shewn themselves enemies of France. I will shew you extracts from a correspondence, which will make you acquainted with the

conduct of your Internuncio at Constantinople, and your Consul in Bosnia.

AMBASSADOR—" But have not we also to complain of M. de la Tour Maubourg, who declared war, as it were, between France and Austria, by breaking of all communication between the French and their Allies and the Austrians?

MINISTER.—" What ought M. de la Tour Maubourg to have done? Aid the triumph of the English? That would have been indeed too complaisant. Such are the complaints we have to allege against you, and yet you know whether our conduct has been pacific. Have we made any demand which could hurt the weakest of your interests? Have we said a word you could complain of? You spread the report that Trieste, Fiume, and Croatia, were required of you.

AMBASSADOR.—" That was printed in the German Gazettes.

MINISTER.—" But by order of your Cabinet, and by letters sent from Vienna and Presbourg. These were printed in Austria also; and it was easy for you to undeceive your people. Did you say a word on the subject?

AMBASSADOR.—" But answer this. If the Emperor really felt uneasiness on what are called our armaments, why, instead of being silent to me, and of calling forth the troops of the Confederation, did he not speak to me? I should have explained, and possibly been understood.

MINISTER.—" Of what use could that have been? What good was effected five months ago by like measures? The Emperor no longer speaks to you, Sir, because he has spoken to you in vain; because your illusive promises have deprived you, with him, of the credit attached to the title of Ambassador. Recollect that you then promised your military measures should not be persisted in; that the exercises of the militia should cease with the fine weather; that the recognition of King Joseph should meet with no obstacles, and on all these points you said you were authorised by your Court. However, I will answer in one word: the Emperor might well be reserved towards an Ambassador whom his own Court had, as it were, disavowed, and whom he therefore considered as the author of hazardous measures, which facts have given the lie to: but he has not called a single man of the Confederation from the state of preparation into which your proceedings long since had caused them to put themselves. The troops which were on the Saone and the Meurthe are still there, and have never moved from their position.

AMBASSADOR.—" But one part of these promises has been kept, nothing has been added to the military organization.

MINISTER.—" Every thing has been done to give uneasiness.

AMBASSADOR.—" I do not think that the exercise was continued during the winter.

MINISTER.—" At Trieste the militia were exercised in winter at the old Theatre.

AMBASSADOR.—" However, if King Joseph has not been recognized, that is to be attributed to the conference of Erfurth. Certainly, if the Emperor had been willing to admit the Emperor my master, to the conference, or only permitted me to go thither, as I proposed, the recognition would have been granted. This did not take place, because that conference gave rise to suspicion; because Russia interposed, and because her language, by no means friendly, gave offence; because this union of two great powers, whose views and determinations were unknown, caused a suspicion that this affair of the recognition was connected with the other arrangements, a communication of which we thought we were entitled to demand.

MINISTER.—" Your promise was absolute; it was made at a time when the conference of Erfurth was not foreseen; it was made in return for a promise made by the French government to evacuate Silesia, a promise which has been kept. Besides, you know the result of the conferences of Erfurth. You know that it was not directed against you. Why then delay this recognition?

AMBASSADOR.—" But General Andreossi rejected the conditional recognition which we offered. Besides, if we did not make the recognition, we spoke of maintaining amicable relations towards King Joseph, as King of Spain.

MINISTER.—" M. l'Ambassadeur, I fear you deceive yourself: these terms are not in the answer of your Court. Is it in printing with zeal the libels of the insurgents? Is it in quitting Madrid and following the insurgents, that your Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid proved he had orders to be the friend of King Joseph? Besides, what was the reason which induced France and Russia to demand this recognition? To facilitate the Peace with England, and leave that power no means of troubling the Continent, and by that means oblige it to that peace which all the world wants. You have interposed in the execution of this plan; you have assumed the language and adopted the defence of England. You told the public you were arming. Your Gazettes, which are so circumspect, have been worse than the worse libels of London. The peace with England has not taken place. England triumphs at Constantinople, at seeing you run into the war. What do you hope from this?

AMBASSADOR.—" Now that our troops are about to quit the peace establishment on which they were placed, you will see how different their future state will be.

MINISTER.—" We shall see the result of nine months of

preparation. Do you really believe that you are able to inspire any one with fear or with awe? However, I repeat it to you: the Emperor who desires nothing but to be left to enjoy the security of peace, does not wish for war; he will make it if you oblige him to it. He has not given you the slightest pretext for it. I shall render him an account of the communication you have just made me—I know not whither your steps will lead you; but if war takes place, it is because you wished for it.

AMBASSADOR—(*going away*)—"I never speak of myself; but you know how I am treated publicly at Court. I am told that the Emperor has complained of the treatment of his Ambassador at Vienna. I protest that General Andreossy, to the very last moment, has been perfectly well received by the Emperor, my Master.

MINISTER.—"You know, M. l'Ambassadeur, that there is no rank fixed at Court. The Emperor does not complain of M. de Metternich: but he can no longer grant the same confidence to the Ambassador who has, if I may use the phrase, been belied by his own Court. Your Court alone, in not executing your promises, has violated the dignity of your character."

The war commenced by the march of the Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, towards the Inn, who, in a letter to the general commanding in Bavaria, declared his determination to treat as an enemy any one who should oppose his progress, and who addressed the following Proclamation to his army.

PROCLAMATION *of the* ARCHCUKE CHARLES.

Dated Vienna, April 6, 1809.

"THE protection of our country calls us to new exploits. As long as it was possible to preserve peace by means of sacrifices, and as long as these sacrifices were consistent with the honour of the throne, with the security of the state, and with the welfare of the people, the heart of our bountiful sovereign suppressed every painful feeling in silence; but when all endeavours to preserve happy independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitles, when nations are falling around us, and when lawful sovereigns are torn from the hearts of their subjects, when in fine the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria, and their peaceable — fortunate inhabitants; then does our country demand from us its delieverance, and we stand forth in its

defence.—On you, my dear brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honour and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression. You shall not carry on the endless wars of ambition under distant climes. Your blood shall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign covetousness; not on you shall the curse alight to annihilate innocent nations? and over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country to pave the way for a foreigner to the usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you; the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will loose its fetters, and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for the their deliverance. You are engaged in a just cause, otherwise I should not appear at your head.—On the fields of Ulm and Marengo, whereof the enemy so often remind us with ostentatious pride, on these fields will we renew the glorious deeds of Wurtsburgh and Ostrach, of Liptinger, (Stockach), and Zurich, of Verona, of the Trebia and Novi. We will conquer a lasting peace for our country; but the great aim is not to be attained without great virtues. Unconditional subordination, strict discipline, persevering courage, and unshaken steadiness in danger, are the companions of true fortitude. Only a union of will, and a joint co-operation of the whole, lead to victory.—My sovereign and brother has invested me with extensive powers to reward and to punish. I will be every where in the midst of you, and you shall receive the first thanks of your country from your general on the field battle. The patriotism of many of the Austrian nobility has anticipated your wants: this is a pledge in the fullest measure, of the public gratitude: but punishment shall also, with inflexible rigour, fall on every breach of duty: merit shall meet with reward, and offence with animadversion, without distinction of person, or rank; branded with disgrace shall the worthless person be cast out to whom life is dearer than his and our honour. Adorned with the marks of public esteem, will I present to my sovereign, to the world, these brave men who have deserved well of their country, and whose names I will ever carry in my heart.—There remains one consideration, which I must put you in mind of: the soldier is only formidable to the enemy in arms; civil virtues must not be strangers to him: out of the field of battle, towards the unarmed citizens and peasants, he is moderate, compassionate, and humane: he knows the evils of war and strives to lighten them; I will punish every wanton excess with so much greater severity, as it is not the intention of our monarch to oppress neighbouring countries, but to deliver them from their oppressors, and to form with their princes a powerful bond in order to bring about a lasting peace, and to maintain the ge-

neral welfare and security. Soon will foreign troops, in stri union with us, attack the common enemy. Then, brave companions in arms! honour and support them as your brothers; not vain glorious high words but manly deeds do honour to the warrior; by intrepidity before the enemy you must shew yourselves to be the first soldiers.—Thus then shall I one day lead you back to your own country, followed by the respect of the enemy, and by the gratitude of foreign nations, after having secured by your arms an honourable peace, when the satisfaction of our monarch, the approbation of the world, the rewards of valour, the blessings of your fellow citizens, and the consciousness of deserved repose await you.

CHARLES, Archduke, Generalissimo."

The prospect was certainly less favourable to Austria than at any former contest, for it was evident that the first defeat would carry the war into the hereditary states, in which case it was certain that no auxilliary aid could be given by any power on the continent; and it was by no means clear, after what had recently happened, that victory would not have induced them to unite their forces to those of France. The single hopeful circumstance to set against the obvious disadvantages, was found in the honour, courage, and conduct, of the generalissimo; and certainly his confidence in the justice and success of the contest, could not have been more strongly expressed than in the preceding document.

CHAPTER XVI

Commencement of the War—Departure of Napoleon for the Army—Battles—Defeat of the Austrians—Insurrections—The Austrian Armies abandon, and the French, approach Vienna

OF the impolicy of the Austrian cabinet in choosing to begin hostilities at the time it did, no doubt can be entertained, if it be considered that all the arguments by which the war could be justified, would have applied quite as well before Napoleon had obtained his successes in Spain, and whilst the Spanish armies retained their stamina. The true cause of the jealousy of Napoleon against all the states with whom he has chosen to quarrel, was a supposed deficiency of zeal in espousing his unnatural schemes for the destruction of the English.

He had resolved that his war with England should be the concern of the whole continent, his hatred of the British government the inheritance of all sovereigns and nations; and the oppression which, in order to injure England, he had laid upon the industry and trade of every country where his troops or his decrees could reach, should be the line to be adopted by all states. Under the pretence of not having rendered sufficient homage to this unheard of system, a few months after the Tilsit peace, the House of Braganza was driven from the throne of Portugal! At the same time a distinct proposal was made to the Emperor Francis utterly to abandon all connections with England; and the choice between such a resolution and an immediate war with France, was the intimation which accompanied this proposal, without any further modification or mitigation.

Though under the circumstances of the moment, and the measures already forced upon that Prince in the year 1806, concerning the exclusion of the British flag from his ports, and by means of the entire blockade which the Emperor Napoleon had ordered of the continental harbours, the commerce of the Austrian dominions was already in a high degree crippled and destroyed; nevertheless, the step required gave the evil its utmost extension, and, in fact, the effects became too visible.

In Italy that broad circle of dominion which at one time was denoted under the name of the "*New Federal System*;" at another, under the more expressive appellation of the "*Great Empire*," had long embraced the whole of the Italian states. This was not enough. The subjugation was to go into the detail—was to be more immediate and complete. The Pope had, in the sense of his duty, resisted a series of pretensions which would have wounded the dignity of the head of the Church, and his ancient rights as a sovereign. In an instant every thing was disregarded, which reverence for his sublime person, and esteem for the greater part of Christendom, which beheld in him a common father, appeared to prescribe, even to unsparing violence. The provinces were taken away, which remained to the Pope after earlier encroachments. Rome itself became the seat of a military prefecture, and it could not be concealed from the world that his Holiness endured, in his own capital, the fate of a state prisoner. The provinces belonging to the Church, as well as the principalities of Parma and Placenza, and the kingdom of Etruria, which France herself had erected, and now suddenly and tyrannically destroyed, were incorporated either with France or the kingdom of Italy; and Austria learnt on this occasion, by a solemn oration in the French Senate, that "*it is the will of the Emperor Napoleon that*

THE WHOLE COAST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ADRIATIC SEA *be united either with the French territory, or with that of the* GREAT EMPIRE.

The conquest of the Western States being completed by that of Spain and Portugal; and the principle, that every thing is just and lawful which the interest of the Emperor of France required, being openly avowed in this act of outrageous violence, and without reserve proclaimed in the official papers of the government; and that restless love of dominion, for which Europe seemed hardly large enough, having on no account found its limit; nothing was more natural than the expectation, that the next mortal blow would be aimed at Austria. The apprehensions and the pre-sentiments of the world, and especially the French journals, were in concord with such an expectation.

Every thing which was established at that period however remained within the strictest limits of a just system of defence. It was confined to the organization and completion of the military powers of the nation; and so much the less reason was there to apprehend that this could give offence to any state, as similar, and far more extensive establishments had been made for several years before, and were every day making, not only in France, but other adjoining countries. The kingdom was surrounded by foreign armies, who were put upon a war establishment, and every moment ready to march. The Austrian troops were on the peace establishment; they were dispersed in their ordinary garrisons, and nowhere collected together. A position exciting less suspicion, and giving less alarm, could not well be expected from a great state.

While, to avoid unpleasant discussions, the Emperor maintained an uninterrupted silence on some very essential matters of complaint, by virtue of an arbitrary decree, more than 80 Austrian

vessels had been taken by French cruisers, a) procedure which afforded no very promising prognostic of the freedom of the sea)—the Austrian Court was incessantly engaged in repelling from itself and its subordinate agents the fancied or feigned accusations which were brought forward by restless French agents, principally at Trieste. Not one of which accusations could be verified.

The Emperor Francis had laboured with sincere and indefatigable perseverance for the maintenance of peace during three long years. He had submitted to many severe and unjust demands of the French cabinet without giving utterance to a single complaint. He had brought a long series of costly sacrifices to his longing wishes of repose. But the French government succeeded in driving him to resistance, by insisting that he should abandon those measures which were an essential part of the defence of the country. To purchase peace at this price was impossible. The monarchy was annihilated from the moment when they on whom was imposed the care for its preservation were ready with their own hands to destroy the last bulwark of their existence.

The Emperor had recourse to arms, because the duty of self-preservation did not permit him to comply with the condition upon which alone the French cabinet would have granted the continuance of peace; viz. to yield up the means of a just defence, because he dared no longer delay the protection of countries and nations, which God has entrusted to him, against an invasion long planned, more than once clearly announced, and now ripe for execution; because he was sufficiently acquainted with the thoughts and wishes of his people, to know that not one among them would refuse the utmost exertions in his power to an ignoble self-annihilation by voluntary subjection.

But all these reasons were in full force from

the moment when the Royal Family of Spain was trepaned, and when the French troops crossed the Pyrennees; the true policy therefore would have been, to have seized upon the moment, when, by enspiriting the troops in the Peninsula, and by dividing the attention of the enemy, an immense auxilliary power might have been preserved which was overcome for want of this timely co-operation.

On the evening of the 12th of April, the Emperor Napoleon learned by the telegraph that the Austrians had passed the Inn, and he set out from Paris almost immediately. He arrived at three o'clock on the morning of the 16th at Louisburg, and in the evening of the same day at Dillengen, where the court had returned from Munich, and he saw the king of Bavaria, passed half an hour with that Prince, whom he promised in fifteen days to restore to his capital, and to make him greater than any of his ancestors had ever been. On the 17th, at two o'clock in the morning, his Majesty arrived at Donauwerth, where he immediately established his head-quarters, and gave the necessary orders. On the 18th the head-quarters were removed to Ingolstadt.

"THE Austrian army, say the French, accounts passed the Inn on the 9th of April, that was the signal for hostilities.

"The following were the positions of the armies of France and her allies:—The corps of the Duke D'Auerstadt at Ratisbon. The corps of the Duke of Rivoli at Ulm. The corps of General Oudinot at Augsburgh. The head-quarters at Strasburgh. There were three divisions of Bavarians, under the Duke of Dantzic. The first division commanded by the Prince Royal at Munich; the second, by General Deroi, at Landshut; and the third, by General Wrede, at Strasburgh. The Wurtembourgh division at Heydenheim. The Saxon troops encamped under the walls of Dresden. The corps of the Duchy of Warsaw, commanded by Prince Poniatowsky, in the environs of Warsaw.

"On the 10th the Austrian troops invested Passau, where they surrounded a batalion of Bavarians, and at the same time invested Kuffstein, where there was another batalion of Ba-

varian: These movements took place without a shot being fired.

"The Bavarian division which had been at Landshut went to Alterff, on the left bank of the Iser. The division under the command of General Wrede, marched upon Neustadt. The Duke of Rivoli left Ulm for the environs of Augsburgh.

"From the 10th to the 16th the Austrians advanced from the Inn to the Iser; there were several skirmishes between parties of the cavalry.

"On the 16th at Phaffenhoffen, the 2d and 3d regiments of Bavarian light horse gained some slight advantages. At the same time the Austrians appeared in large bodies for the purpose of forming at Landshut; the bridge was broken down, and the Bavarian division, commanded by General Deroi, vigorously opposed this movement, but being threatened by the columns which had passed the Iser at Moorberg and Freysing, his division retired in good order upon that of General Wrede, and the Bavarian army took a central position upon Neustadt.

"On the 19th General Oudinot quitted Augsburgh and arrived by break of day at Phaffenhoffen, where he met 3 or 4,000 Austrians, whom he attacked, and took 300 prisoners. The Duke de Rivoli arrived the next day at *Phaffenhoffen*. The same day the Duke of Auerstadt left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and to draw near to Ingolstadt. The plan of Buonaparté was to out-manœuvre the Austrians, who had formed near Landshut, and to attack them at the very moment when they, thinking they were commencing the attack, were marching to Ratisbon."

BATTLE OF TANN, ON THE 19TH.

"By break of day the Duke Auerstadt began his march in two columns. One division arrived at the village of Pressing, and there the campaign was opened by a battle, which was greatly in favour of the French, for they took all the positions of the Austrians, killed a great number of them, and made between 600 and 700 prisoners. At sun-set, the division of the Duke of Dantzic formed its junction with that of the Duke of Auerstadt. In all these affairs Generals St. Hilaire and Friant particularly distinguished themselves. The loss of the Austrians in colonels and officers of lower rank was considerable. The Prince of Lichtenstein, General Lusignan, and others were wounded.

"Napoleon resolved to beat and destroy the corps of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, which mounted to 60,000 men. On the 20th he took post at Abensberg; he gave orders to the Duke of Auerstadt to keep the corps of Hohenzollern, of Rosenberg, and Litchenstein, in check, while with

the two divisions of Morand and Guden, the Bavarians and the Wirtemburghers, he attacked the army of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller in front, and caused the communications of the Austrians to be cut off by the Duke of Rivoli, who passed by Freyberg, and from thence proceeded to the rear of their army. The division of Moraud and Guden formed the left, and manœuvred under the orders of the Duke of Montebello. The Emperor determined to fight that day at the head of the Bavarians and Wirtemburghers. He ordered the officers of these two armies to form a circle, and addressed them in a long speech. The Prince Royal of Bavaria translated into German what he said in French. The Emperor made them sensible of the confidence which he reposed in them. He told the Bavarian officers that the Austrians had always been their enemies; that they now wished to destroy their independence; that for more than 200 years the Bavarian standard had been displayed against the Austrians. But that this time he would render them so powerful, that they alone should be able to contend with the House of Austria. He spoke to the Wirtemburghers of the victories they had obtained over the House of Austria, when they served in the Prussian army, and of the advantages which they had recently obtained from the campaign in Silesia. He told them all, that the moment was come for carrying the war into the Austrian territory. This speech was repeated to the different companies by the captains, which produced great effect. The Emperor then gave the signal for battle, and planned his manœuvres according to the particular character of the troops. General Wrede, a Bavarian, was stationed at Siegenburgh, and attacked an Austrian division, which was opposed to him. General Vandamme, who commanded the Wirtemburghers, attacked them on their right flank. The Duke of Dantzic, with the division of the Prince Royal, and of General Deroi, marched towards the village of Rehausen, in order to reach the grand road from Abensberg to Landshut. The Duke of Montebello, with his two French divisions, forced the extremity of the left, and overthrew every thing that was opposed to him, and advanced to Rohr and Rosenburgh. The Austrians disconcerted, did not fight for more than an hour, and then beat a retreat. They lost eight standards, 12 pieces of cannon, and 18,000 prisoners.

"Having laid open the flank of the Austrian army, and all their magazines, by break of day on the 21st, the Emperor marched upon Landshut. The Duke of Istria defeated the enemy's cavalry in the plain before that city. The General of Division Monton made the grenadiers of the 17th advance to the charge on the bridge, forming the head of a column. The bridge of wood, was set on fire, but that was not an ob-

stacle to the French infantry, who forced it, and penetrated into the city. The Austrians were driven from their position, by the Duke of Rivoli, who had advanced by the right bank. In Landshut the French took 30 pieces of cannon, 9,000 prisoners, 600 ammunition waggons, 300 baggage waggons, and the hospitals and magazines which the Austrians had began to form. Some couriers and aide-de-camps of the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Charles, and some convoys of wounded men.

" While these affairs produced such important consequences, the Archduke Charles had formed a junction with the Bohemian army under Kollowrath, and obtained some partial successes at Ratisbon. One thousand of the 65th, who were left to guard the bridge of Ratisbon, and who had not received orders to retreat, having expended their cartridges, and being surrounded by the Austrians, were obliged to surrender. This event incensed Napoleon so much, that he swore that in 24 hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon, to resent *the insult which had been offered to his arms.* During this time the Dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzic held in check the corps of Rosenberg, Hohenzollern, and Lichtenstein. The Emperor began his march from Landshut, with the two divisions of the Duke of Montebello, the corps of the Duke of Rivoli, the Cuirassiers of Nansouty and St. Sulpice, and the Wirtemburgh division. At two o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite Eckmuhl, where the four corps of the Austrian army, consisting of 110,000 men, had taken a position under the command of the Archduke Charles. The Duke of Montebello attacked on the left, with the division of Guden. On the first signal the divisions of the Dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzic, and the division of light cavalry of General Montbrun, took their positions. The Austrians attacked on all points, turned on their left, and were successively driven from all their positions. They lost the greater part of their cannon, and a great number of prisoners; and from the woods which cover Ratisbon, were forced into the plain, and cut off by cavalry. The Austrian cavalry strong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat of their infantry, but they were attacked by the division of St. Sulpice on the right, and by the division of Nansouty on their left, and their line of hussars and cuirassiers routed; more than 300 Austrian cuirassiers were made prisonsers. As the night was commencing, the division of Nansouty met with a column which was escaping, and compelled it to surrender: it consisted of three Hungarian battallions of 1,500 men.

" The division of St. Sulpice charged another division, where the Archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken. He was indebted for his safety to the fleetness of his horse. This column was also broken and taken. After this battle of

Eckmuhl the Austrians continued to defile the whole of the night in small divisions, and in great confusion. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, 15 standards, and 20,000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. The advanced guard, formed by the division of Gudin, and by the cuirassiers of Nansouty and St. Sulpiece, very soon came in sight of the Austrian cavalry, which attempted to cover the city of Ratisbon. Three successive charges took place, eight thousand of the Austrians having been cut to pieces, the remainder precipitately repassed the Danube. The corps of General Bellegard arrived the day after the battle; they could only be witness of the taking of Ratisbon, and then fled into Bohemia.

"Of 222,000 of which the Austrian army was composed, all have been engaged, except 20,000 men, commanded by General Bellegarde. Astonished by the rapid movements of the French which were out of their calculation, they lost the high expectations they had formed."

With a view to annoy the Bavarians and detach them from the French army, an attempt was made to rouse the Tyrolese, to dissolve their allegiance to that government, and fly to arms in the cause of their former sovereign; and General Jellachich addressed a proclamation to them for that purpose.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TYROL.

"TYROLESE, you are still that which you were formerly. The time is approaching in which you will be recalled to that state of prosperity, to that genuine liberty which you were wont to enjoy under the benignant government of Austria. If the voice of that General, whom you have honoured by acknowledging as your countryman, and who, in the year 1799, by the victory of Feldkirch, saved you from imminent danger, and in the following year rendered your frontiers, from Arleberg to the valley of Karabendel, impenetrable to the attacks of the enemy; if this is not effaced from your recollection, listen to my words, listen, my countrymen, and be convinced.

"Your lawful Sovereign; your father, I ought rather to say, seeks you; place yourselves under his banners; his heart bleeds to see you under the dominion of a stranger. You, his children, become again the sons of Austria do not undervalue that glorious appellation. The Austrian army, more numerous than ever, more inspired, more patriotic, on entering on your frontiers, receive them as your brothers, as

the children, of the same father; rally round their standards, follow the glorious example of all the subjects of the throne of Austria. In short, follow up that conduct, that valour, with which you have so recently excited the admiration and applause of Europe.

"Tyrolese, our God is with us; we look not for fresh conquests, but to restore again to the breast of our imperial and gracious Father, brothers who have been torn from it. Their is nothing to resist us—Nothing can resist us if we unite for our happiness, and for our very existence. Believe me, Tyrolese, God protects us.

DE BUZIN,
Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, and Lieut. Field Marshal, &c. &c."

Napoleon complained loudly of this Proclamation as an instance of bad faith on the part Austria, and certainly with the appearance of truth in his favour, if it be true that it "was issued on the same day" that the Archduke Charles wrote the following

LETTER,

ADDRESSED *on the* 9*th* APRIL, *by the* ARCHDUKE CHARLES *to the* KING *of* BAVARIA.

"SIRE,—I have the honour to inform your Majesty, that in pursuance of the declaration of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I have received orders to enter Bavaria with the troops under my command, and to treat as enemies those who shall offer resistance.

"I ardently wish, Sire, that you would listen to the desires of your people, who see in us none but deliverers. The severest commands have been given, in order, until your Majesty make known your intentions on this head, that no hostilities be committed except against the enemy of all political independence in Europe. It would be very painful to me to turn my arms against the troops of your Majesty, and to involve your subjects in the miseries of a war, undertaken for general liberty, and whose first principle excludes all plan of conquest; but if the force of circumstances should lead your Majesty to a condescension incompatible with your dignity, and the happiness of your people, I beg you, nevertheless, to be convinced that my soldiers will maintain, under every circumstance, the safety of your Majesty; and I invite you, Sire, to confide yourself to the honour of my Sovereign, and the protection of his arms."

"ON the day after the battle of Landshut, the Emperor sent the Duke of Istria with the Bavarian division under General

Wrede, and Molitor's division to proceed to the Inn, and pursue the two corps of the Austrian army beaten at Abensberg and Landshut

"The Duke of Istria arrived successively at Wilsburg and Neumark, found there upwards of 400 carriages, caissons, and equipages, and took from 15 to 1,800 prisoners in his march.

"The Austrian corps found beyond Neumark, a corps of reserve which had arrived upon the Inn. They rallied, and on the 25th gave battle at Neumark, where the Bavarians, preserved their positions.

"On the 24th the Emperor had sent the corps of the Duke of Rivoli from Ratisbon to Straubing, and from thence to Passau, where he arrived on the 26th. The Duke made the battalion of the Po pass the Inn—it made 300 prisoners, removed the blockade of the citadel, and occupied Scharding.

"On the 25th the Duke of Montebello had orders to march with his corps from Ratisbon to Muhldorff. On the 27th he passed the Inn and proceeded to the Salza.

"The 27th, the Emperor's head-quarters were at Muhldorff.

"On the side of Ratisbon, the Duke of Auerstadt went in pursuit of Prince Charles, who, cut off from his communications with the Inn and Vienna, was obliged to retire into the mountains of Bohemia, by Waldmunchen and Cham.

"The Emperor of Austria, was before Passau, besieging that place with three battalions of the Landwer.

"At Ratisbon, Napoleon caused the bravest soldiers to be presented to him, to whom he gave distinctions and pensions, and the bravest officers, to whom he gave baronies and lands.

"Hitherto he had always about him the allied Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops; wishing thereby to give a particular proof of confidence in them during the battle. A spent ball grazed the heel of his boot, but did not touch the skin.

"The inhabitants of Ratisbon having behaved as he wished, he ordered that the damages done shall be repaired at his expence, and particulary the rebuilding of the houses burnt; the expence of which would be several millions."

Before quiting Ratisbon, the Emperor issued a spirited Proclamation to his army.

PROCLAMATION.

"SOLDIERS! You have justified my expectations. You have made up for numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the difference that exists between the soldiers of Cæsar, and the armed cohorts of Xerxes.

"In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of

Tann, Abensberg, and Eckmuhl, and in the action of Peising, Landshut and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 50,000 prisoners, 300 waggons harnessed for baggage, all the chests of the regiments—such is the result of the rapidity of your march and your courage.

"The enemy, besotted by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to preserve any recollection of us; their waking has been prompt; you have appeared to them more terrible than ever. lately they crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our Allies; lately they presumed to carry the war into the heart of our country. Now, defeated and dismayed, they fly in disorder; already my advanced guard has passed the Inn—before a month is elapsed we shall be at Vienna.

"From our Head-quarters, Ratisbon, 24th April.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Whilst the Emperor was thus marching upon the Austrian states by the direct road to Vienna, the Viceroy of Italy was endeavouring to pass the Tagliamento, where he was for some time held in check by the Archduke John. Field Marshal Chastellar, by the spirit he diffused among the Tyrolese, and by the rapidity of his movements, contrived to hang upon the rear both of the Italian and Bavarian armies. In Germany Colonel Schill, an officer in the Prussian service, who had carried on predatory hostilities against the French in the late Prussian war, again hoisted the standard of insurrection, and called upon all German patriots to join him in resisting the tyranny of France. His exertions obliged Napoleon to keep an army of observation, which was under the command of the Duke of Valmy, on the banks of the Elbe. The Archduke Ferdinand was at the same time in Poland, where he was so far successful as to gain possession of Warsaw without much loss, and the Prince of Ponto Corvo, with the Saxon armies under his command, watched the motions of the Austrian grand army now retired into Bohemia under the Archduke Charles. Jerome Buonaparté paraded a few troops about Westphalia and Saxony, but his exertions were little more than a species of armed espionage upon the king of Prussia.

Having now completely succeeded in frustrating the Austrian plan of operations and changed it from the offensive to the defensive, Napoleon resolved to push his advantages before they could recover from their confusion. On his arrival at Muhldorff, he detached General Wrede to Lauffen on the Salza, who succeeded in defeating General Jellachich, took possession of Saltzburgh and considerable magazines, beside 5,000 prisoners. Meanwhile the Duke of Dantzic advanced to Altenburgh, and the Dukes of Istria and Montebello to Burghausen. The march of the French army resembled a party of pleasure more than the invasion of a powerful enemy, for from Ratisbon to Ebersberg it scarcely met an enemy. The Archduke Louis and General Hiller with 35,000 men retreating towards the Traun, before the Duke of Montebello, were overtaken at Ebersberg, by the Duke of Istria and General Oudinot who were also joined by the Duke of Rivoli. The tirailleurs of the Po, and the Corsican tirailleurs, pursued them to the bridge; and drove into the river the cannon, waggons, and from eight to nine hundred men. In the town they took from three to four thousand men, who had been left there for its defence. The Duke of Istria passed the bridge with his cavalry, in order to support the division, and the Duke of Rivoli ordered his advanced guard to be strengthened by the main body of the army. The remains of the corps of prince Lewis and General Hiller appeared to be lost without resource. In this extreme danger they set fire to the town, which was built of wood. The fire spread in an instant in every direction. The bridge was soon enveloped, and the flames seized the joists, which it was necessary to cut. At length after a labour of three hours, the flames were turned aside, and a passage opened. The General of division, Legrand, with the 26th light infantry and the 18th of the line,

marched towards the castle, which the enemy had occupied with 800 men. The sappers broke in the doors, and the flames having reached the castle, all who were within perished there. General Legrand afterwards marched to the assistance of Claparede's division, which with only four pieces of cannon, fought during three hours against 30,000 men. General Durosnel, who advanced to the right shore, with 1,000 horse, joined himself to him, and the Austrians were obliged to retreat with great haste. On the first report of these events, the Emperor had himself marched up the right shore, with the divisions of Nantsouty and Moliter.—The enemy, who retreated with the greatest rapidity, arrived at night at Enns, burnt the bridge, and continued his flight on the road to Vienna. His loss consists of 12,000 men, of which 7,500 are prisoners, besides four pieces of cannon and two standards. The French exult greatly in the victory of Ebersberg. The bridge, the town, and the position at Ebersberg, say they, will be lasting monuments of French courage. The traveller will stop and say, "It is here, from these superb positions, from this long bridge, and this castle so strong from its situation, that an army of 35,000 Austrians was driven into flight by 7,000 Frenchmen."

During the subsequent march to Vienna the army met with no opposition, a feeling of deep despair seemed to have taken possession of all ranks; the constituted authorities appeared at the bivouacings of Napoleon to supplicate him for terms, as if they considered the House of Austria cast down for ever, and in some instances he assured them that they should not return under that government again. The panic was so complete, and the defeat, so unexpected, that the Austrians took no means to destroy the magazines, which they had provided for themselves, and which would accelerate the enemy's march through their

country. Every where the French found an abundance of supplies, requisite for the wants of the army. Besides ammunition, baggage waggons, and arms, they found at Braunau, at Wilsand, and at Moelk, wine, brandy, oats, flour, and biscuits, in immense quantities.

Although the Austrian armies had apparently abandoned the capital to its fate, a feeble and tardy attempt was made to arm the inhabitants in its defence so late as the 5th of May, as appears by the official papers.

PROCLAMATION

TO THE INHABITANTS OF VIENNA.

Vienna, May 5, 1809.

"WHILE the army fights for the most important and just cause that has ever roused a people to take up arms—while it gives proofs of courage and perseverance, it is possible that a division of the enemy may make an attempt to surprise Vienna.

"His Majesty the Emperor has sent me here to frustrate such an attempt by employing the most vigorous measures.

"Noble and generous inhabitants of Vienna, his Majesty is already convinced of your disposition to give me every assistance in your power. The love that you have manifested for your country on this occasion, your fidelity to your beloved Sovereign, have never shone so conspicuously as at this moment, when your fate for ages is at stake. I know, and the world shall learn, of what you are capable.

"Your ancestors under Ferdinand and Leopold drove a terrible force from before the walls of Vienna. If he who threatens them at this time was able to break through them some years back, the reason is, that the way was opened to him by misfortunes of an extraordinary nature. But at this time, when a mass of force which promises certain success is at the disposal of the Sovereign, when it would be pusillanimous and cowardly to entertain doubts of the fortunate issue of the war; at this day shall we abandon without resistance to him this renowned city, the centre of the monarchy, the residence of so many great Princes, who have rendered the name of Austria illustrious, and the people happy.

"Far be from us such disgrace. Filled with the most profound gratitude to the Monarch who has confided your fortunes to me, I shall always be found in the midst of you. I rely upon your exertions, and your readiness to do every thing that the defence of the capital and the honour of the nation

may require. When we are all actuated by one impulse, who is there than can conquer us?

" The danger that we shall have to defy, if it should actually arise, will be of short continuance: armies will fly to our assistance from all sides, and put an end to the exertions that resistance may require.

" If until then the fame of your generous devotion shall excite thousands of your fellow-citizens; if, by your example, the country shall be saved, think what rewards and what glory await you."

" MAXIMILLIAN, Archduke.

PROCLAMATION.

Vienna, May 6, 1809.

" It is possible that in the present positions of the armies a rash enemy may attempt to enter Austria. It is possible that the attempt may succeed, if, from all sides, courage and firmness do not oppose an effectual resistance.

" His Majesty's armies are drawing nigh, it is true, in considerable force for the defence of the capital; but they have occasion for the assistance of the inhabitants, that they may fight with augmented force, and frustrate the designs of the enemy.

" Therefore every subject of the Emperor, capable of bearing arms, who regards his country, his family, and his property, is required to present himself for the defence of his country to the next public officer.

" The village Magistrates, or their subsitutes, the principal manufacturers, the proprietors of the floats of wood, the latter, with those employed by them, are ordered, on the approach of the enemy, to repair to the following stations; each district repairing to that which is nighest to it.

" In the quarter of Unter-Wiener-Wald (the lower forest of Vienna), Altenmarckt, Presting, Aspern, and Kloster-Neuburgh.

" In the quarter of Ober-Wiener-Wald (the upper forest) Waidhofen, Gamming, Sietenstetten, Purgstatt, Gœttweih, Wilhelmsburgh, Neulenbech.

"At each of these stations an officer, duly authorised, will conduct the men to their ulterior destination.

" Every man possessing a gun, powder, or lead, must bring it with him. Others are desired to arm themselves with pitch-forks, scythes, and to answer in that way to their country's call.

" As the necessity of this species of arming may continue for some days, every person is required to bring with him a quantity of bread sufficient for the consumption of five days.

" The persons under whose orders the forest inspections

are will repair to the appointed station with the chasseurs within their district. Whatever superfluous guns they may possess shall be distributed to those who are not therewith provided.

"The loyalty of the faithful inhabitants of the provinces, the courage displayed by them on a similar occasion in 1797, afford the best assurance that they will shew themselves worthy of the glory they have acquired, and that they will zealously co-operate for the safety of the country."

"MAXIMILLIAN Archduke.

CHAPTER XVII.

Capitulation of Vienna—Acknowledgement of Napoleon's Imperial Title by the London Gazette—Imperial Gossip—Battle of Aspern.

HOW the Austrians came to adopt their line of policy and the reasons why it failed must, in point of candour, be taken from their own accounts. Those of the French are, however, far from uninteresting. They relate that on the 10th, at nine of the morning, the Emperor appeared before the gates of Vienna, with the corps of Marshal the Duke of Montebello. "It was at the same hour, on the same day, and exactly one month after the Austrian army had passed the Inn, and the Emperor Francis II. had rendered himself guilty of a perjury, the signal of his ruin.

"On the 5th of May, the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, a young prince, 26 years of age, presumptuous and without experience, of an ardent character, assumed the government of Vienna.

"It was generally reported in the country, that all the entrenchments which surrounded the capital were fortified, that redoubts had been raised, that entrenched camps had been formed, and that the city was determined to defend itself. The Emperor had a difficulty to believe, that a capital, so generously treated by the French army in 1805, and the good sense and wisdom of whose inhabitants are acknowledged, would be so fanatical as to resolve upon so mad an enterprise. He experienced, therefore, a sweet satisfaction when, on approaching the immense suburbs of Vienna, he saw a numerous population of women, children,

and old men, run forward to meet the French army and receive our soldiers as friends.

"General Couroux traversed the suburbs, and General Tharreau repaired to the esplanade which separates them from the city. At the instant he reached it, he was received by a discharge of musketry and cannon, and was slightly wounded.

"Of 300,000 inhabitants who compose the population of Vienna, the city, properly so called, which is surrounded by a bastion and a countersearp, scarcely contains 80,000 inhabitants and 1,300 houses. The eight quarters of the town, which have retained the name of suburbs, and are separated from the city by a vast esplanade, and covered on the side of the country by intrenchments, inclose more than 5,000 houses, and are inhabited by more than 220,000, who draw their subsistence from the city, where are the markets and shops.

"The Archduke Maximilian had caused registers to be opened for collecting the names of the inhabitants who were willing to defend themselves. Thirty individuals only inscribed their names: all the others refused with indignation. Defeated in his hopes, by the good sense of the people of Vienna, he collected ten battalions of the militia *(Landwehr)* and ten battalions of the line, composing a force of from 15,000 to 16,000 men, and threw himself within the place.

"The Duke of Montebello sent him an aide-de-camp with a summons; but some butchers, and a few hundred fellows, satellites of the Archduke Maximilian, rushed upon the *Parliamentaire*, and one of them wounded him. The Archduke ordered the wretch who had committed this infamous action to be led in triumph through the city, mounted on the horse of the French officer, and surrounded by the militia.

"After this unheard of violation of the rights

of nations, the horrid spectacle was seen of one part of the city drawing upon the other part, and citizens directing their arms against their fellow-citizens.

" General Andreossy, appointed governor of the city, organised in each suburb a municipality, a central committee of provisions, and a national guard, consisting of merchants, manufacturers, and the good citizens of every class armed, to repress proprietors, and evil disposed persons *(pour contenir les proprietairs et les mauvais sujets.)*

" The Governor-General caused a deputation of the eight suburbs to repair to Schoenbrunn. The Emperor charged them to proceed to the city in order to carry the annexed letter, written by Major-General Prince of Neufchatel to the Archduke Maximilian. He recommended the deputies to represent to the Archduke, that if he continued to fire upon the suburbs, and if a single one of the inhabitants lost his life through his arms, this act of frensy, this crime against the people, would for ever break the bonds which attach subjects to their sovereigns.

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN.

Head-quarters at Schoenbrunn, May 10, 1809.

" MONSEIGNEUR, the Marshal Duke of Montebello sent this morning to your Highness an officer Parlementaire, accompanied by a trumpeter. This officer is not returned; I beg of your Highness to inform me when it is the intention to send him back. This, so unusual a procedure, obliges me to make use of the inhabitants of the town, in order to have the honour of communicating with your Highness.

" His Majesty the Emperor and King, my sovereign, having been brought to Vienna by the events of war, desires to spare this great and interesting city the calamities with which it is threatened, and has charged me to represent to your Highness, that should you be resolved to defend the place, you will cause the destruction of one of the finest cities in Europe; you will bring all the calamities of war upon an immense population, composed, in part, of old men, women, and children. Will not so many brave soldiers, who are sacrificing their lives

in the service of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, be struck in what is most dear to them, when they behold, while devoting their persons to their Sovereign, their wives and children exposed to the horrors of the war.

"The Emperor, my Sovereign, has displayed in all the countries into which the war has carried him, his solicitude to relieve the unarmed population from these disasters. Your Highness must be persuaded that his Majesty is sensibly affected at beholding this great city on the point of destruction, which he deems it a glory to have already saved.

"Nevertheless, contrary to the custom established in fortresses, your Highness has caused cannon to be discharged on the side towards the town; and this cannon might kill, not an enemy of your Sovereign, but the wife or children of one of his most zealous servants. I have the honour to observe to your Highness, that during this day the Emperor has refused to permit any troops to enter the city, confining himself solely to the occupation of the gates, and the distribution of patroles for the maintenance of good order. But if your Highness persists in defending the fortress, his Majesty will be compelled to commence the works of attack, and the ruin of this immense capital will be complete, within 36 hours, by the fire of obusses and the bombs of our batteries. As the suburbs will be destroyed by the effects of your's, his Majesty does not doubt that these considerations will influence your Highness to renounce a determination which will retard but for a few moments the surrender of the place.

"Finally, if your Highness do not determine to adopt a conduct which will save so interesting a town, its population rendered so wretched through your Highness's fault, plunged into such frightful disorders, would become from faithful subjects the enemies of your house.

"I beg your Highness to inform me of your resolution. Believe in the sincerity of the sentiments I have expressed, and of those of my high consideration."

(Signed) ALEXANDER, &c.

"The deputation entered the city on the 11th at ten of the forenoon, and their arrival was marked only by the redoubled fire from the ramparts. Fifteen inhabitants of the suburbs perished, and only two Frenchmen were killed.

"The patience of the Emperor was wearied out. He proceeded with the Duke of Rivoli to the arm of the Danube which separates the *Protar* [the fashionable *promenade* of Vienna], and ordered two companies of voltigeurs to occupy a small

pavillion on the left bank, in order to cover the raising of a bridge. The battalion of grenadiers which defended the passage was driven back by the voltigeurs, and by the grape shot of fifteen pieces of artillery. At eight of the evening the pavillion was occupied, and the materials of the bridge collected. Captain Portales, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Neufchatel, and —— Susaldi, aide-de-camp of General Boudet, were among the first to swim across the river in order to seek the boats on the opposite shore.

"At nine of the evening a battery of 20 obusses, raised by Generals Bertrand and Navalet, at 100 fathoms from the place, began the bombardment: 1,800 obusses where shot in less than four hours, and soon the whole appeared to be in flames. One must have seen Vienna, its houses of eight or nine stories, its narrow streets, and numerous population within so narrow a compass, in order to form an idea of the tumult, disorder, and disasters which such an operation could not but occasion.

"The Archduke Maximilian had, at one in the morning, caused two battalions to march in close column, in order to attempt retaking the pavilion, which covered the raising of the bridge. The two companies of voltigeurs received them with a discharge of musquetry, which, with the fifteen pieces of artillery from the right side, destroyed a part of the column, and forced them to fly in great disorder.

"The Archduke lost all presence of mind in the midst of the bombardment, and especially at the moment when he heard that we had crossed an arm of the Danube, and were on the march to cut off his retreat. As feeble and weak as he had been rash and arrogant, he was the first to fly and recross the bridge. The respectable General O'Reilly learnt only by the flight of the Archduke, that he was invested with the command.

" Day-break on the 12th, announced to the advanced guard, that the firing would cease, and that a deputation was about to be sent to the Emperor.

" This deputation was presented to his Majesty in the park of Schoenbrunn. It was composed of Colonel Dietrichstein, Provisional Marshal of the States. The Prelate of Klosternenbourg. The Prelate of the Scotch. Count Pergen. Count Veterani. Baron Bartenstein. M. de Mayenberg. Baron Hafen, Referendary of Lower Saxony. All the Members of the State. The Archbishop of Vienna. Baron Lederer, Captain of the town. M. Wohlleben, Burghermaster. M. Meher, Vice Burghermaster, Egger, Finck, Heisn, Counsellors of the Municipality.

" His Majesty assured the Deputies of his protection. He expressed the pain which the inhuman conduct of their Sovereign had given him, who had not feared to deliver up his capital to all the calamities of war—who, himself striking a blow at his rights, instead of being the King and father of his subjects, had evinced himself their enemy and tyrant. His Majesty assured them that Vienna should be treated with the same indulgence and favour which had been displayed in 1805. The Deputation answered this assurance by expressions of the most lively gratitude.

" At nine of the morning the Duke of Rivoli, with the divisions St. Cyr and Bondet, took possession of Lepoldstadt.

" During this time, Lieut.-General O'Reilly sent Lieut.-General de Vaux and Colonel Bellonte, to treat for the capitulation of the place. The annexed capitulation was signed in the evening, and on the 13th, at six in the morning, the grenadiers of Oudinot's corps took possession of the city and the Emperor issued the following:—

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters at Schoenbrun, May 13.

"SOLDIERS!—A month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day, at the same hour, we have entered Vienna.

"His levies en-masse, his ramparts, raised by the impotent rage of Princes of the House of Lorraine, have not been able to withstand your presence. The Princes of that House have abandoned their capital: not as warriors of honour, but as selfish men pursued by their self-reproaches. While they were flying from Vienna, their farewell to its inhabitants has been flames and murder. Like Medea, with their own hands they have massacred their own children.

"Soldiers, the people of Vienna, according to the expression of the deputation of its suburbs, abandoned, deserted, widowed, shall be the objects of your regard. I take its good inhabitants under my especial protection: as to turbulent and wicked men, I will inflict exemplary justice upon them.

"Soldiers!—Be good towards the poor peasants, and this good people, who have so many rights to our esteem. Let us not be proud of our success: let us rather see in it a proof of that divine justice which punishes the ingrate and the perjured."

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

(By the Emperor)

"The Prince de Neufchatel, Major-General,

"ALEXANDER."

CAPITULATION

For the surrender of VIENNA *to the army of* HIS MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of the* FRENCH *and* KING *of* ITALY, PROTECTOR *of the* RHENISH CONFEDERACY.

IT is agreed between the General of Division, ANDEROSSY, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Commandant of the Iron Crown, appointed by his Majesty the Emperor and King; and Baron DE VAUX, Lieutenant-General, and Colonel BELOUTTI, in the name of Count O'REILLY, appointed by the town and garrison of Vienna.

Art. I. The Garrison shall march out with the honours of war, carrying away their field-pieces, military chests, equipage, horses, and property. The same right shall be allowed to the other corps of divisions in the town which may belong to the army. The troops shall be conveyed by the shortest way to the Austrian army, and be supplied on their rout with provisions, forage, waggons, &c. free of expence.

Refused. The Garrison shall march out with the honours of war, and after having defiled, lay down their arms on the glacis, and surrender prisoners of war. The officers shall retain their property, and the soldiers their haversacks.

II. Reckoning from the signing of the capitulation, the troops shall be allowed three days to evacuate the place.

Refused. The gate of Carinthia shall, to-morrow, the 13th, at eight in the morning, be opened to the troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King. The garrison shall march out at nine o'clock.

III. All the sick and wounded, and the necessary number of officers of health, are recommended to the generosity of the of his Majesty the Emperor of the French.—*Granted.*

IV. Every person of distinction, and particularly every officer included in this capitulation, who, on account of important reasons cannot leave the town at the same time as the Garrison, shall obtain a delay, and be at liberty at the expiration of that delay to rejoin his corps.—*Granted.*

V. The inhabitants of all ranks shall be protected in their property, privileges, rights and liberties, as well as in the free excercise of their profession, as previous to the capitulation.—

VI. The free exercise of religion shall be permitted.—*Granted.*

VII. The wives and children of all persons belonging to the Garrison, shall be at liberty to remain in the place, and to retain their own property, and that left behind by their husbands. When such women shall be sent for by their husbands, they shall have full liberty to go to them, and to take away the before-mentioned property —*Granted.*

VIII. The military pensions shall continue to be paid to those to whom they are due, and all such persons shall be at liberty either to leave the town or to proceed to any other place where they may choose to reside.—*Granted.*

IX. The privileges of the persons employed in the military administration, with respect to their property, departure, or residence, shall be the same as that of the garrison.—*Granted.*

X. The individuals of the armed Burgher Corps shall participate in the privileges granted by Art. V. of this Capitulation.—*Granted.*

XI. The Military Academy, the Military Institution for the education of children of both sexes, the general and particular regulations made for the advantage of these Institutions, shall be maintained on their present footing, and placed under the protection of the Emperor Napoleon.—*Granted.*

XII. The chests, magazines, and property of the Magistrates of Vienna, those of the States of Lower Austria, and also those of the Hospitals, shall be preserved inviolate.—*This is not a military subject.*

XIII. Commissioners shall be appointed on each side for the exchange and execution of the above Articles of Capitulation. These Commissioners shall determine the rights of the garrison, according to the foregoing articles.—*Granted.*

XIV. Immediately on signing the above Capitulation, an officer shall be allowed to proceed with a copy to the Emperor of Austria, and another to the Archduke Charles, Generalissimo.—*Granted. With permission to Lieutenant-General O'Reilly to proceed himself to his Sovereign.*

XV. If any difficulty should arise respecting the meaning of the above stipulations, the same shall be explained to the advantage of the garrison and inhabitants of Vienna,—*Granted.*

XVI. After the signing of this Capitulation, and the exchange of hostages, the Half Moon of the gate of Carinthia shall be delivered up to the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French; and the French troops shall not enter that place, until the Austrian troops have evacuated it.—Refused. —*Referred to Article 2.*

A Duplicate hereof, made at Maria Hill, in the Lines of Vienna, May 12, 1809.

(Signed) ANDREOSSY,
DE VAUX, and
BELOUITI.

The Austrian narrative of these events is remarkable for its having procured the acknowledgment of the title of the Emperor Napoleon, in the official paper of the court of St. James's*; and it is the highest compliment to his talents that perhaps ever was paid to them, for the Archduke acknowledges, that, although "it would have been easy to have continued his offensive operations after the battle of Ratisbon, and equally gratifying to have relieved his native provinces from the pressure of a foreign dominion; yet, that the ability with which the Emperor Napoleon compacted his army in order to fulfil his resolution of dictating a peace at Vienna, left him no choice but to conduct his army to the forests of Bohemia, in the hope of being able to join his left wing under General Hiller, which had been seperated from him by the celerity of Napoleon's movements, and in

* See Supplement to the London Gazette, July 11, 1809.

that hope also he was disappointed." General Hiller had been so closely pressed by the united force of the French armies, that, after several spirited engagements, and even after a brilliant affair, in which he had the advantage, near Neumarkt, and in which the troops achieved all that was possible against the disproportionate superiority of the enemy, he indeed was able to reach Lintz, but was incapable of crossing the Danube, and obliged to content himself with destroying the communication with the left bank, and taking up a position behind the Traun near Ebersberg. This was the occasion of an extremely murderous engagement, during which the enemy in storming the bridge lost near four thousand men: Ebersberg was set on fire, and Lieutenant-General Hiller continued his retreat, till he got so much the start as to pass the Danube near Stain without being disturbed by the enemy, and to await the approach of the Archduke, who, after having in vain attempted the junction of the army near Lintz, had marched from Budweis to Zwettel; still hoping, by a quick passage of the Danube, to arrest the enemy's progress towards the metropolis. Meanwhile a corps of Wurtembergers had advanced from Passau along both the shores of the Danube, had occupied Lintz and the bank opposite to it; had restored the bridge, and signalized itself by destroying the defenceless villages and castles which could not be protected by the small advanced guard proceeding by the side of the main army. The enemy, by marching through the valley of the Danube in the straitest line, had got so much ahead, that all hopes of coming up with him in front of Vienna vanished: still, however, if that city had been able to hold out for five days, it might have been relieved; and the Archduke resolved on venturing the utmost to rescue that good city, which, by the excellent disposition of its citizens, its faithful attachment to its sovereign,

and its noble devotion, had raised itself an eternal monument in the annals of Austria. All his plans were now directed towards gaining the bridges across the Danube near Vienna, and endeavouring to save the imperial residence by a combat under its very walls.—Vienna, formerly an important fortress, was in vain besieged by the Turks, and would even now, from the solidity of its ramparts, the strong profiles of its works, and the extensive system of its mines, be capable of making a protracted resistance, had not, for upwards of a century back, the luxury of a large metropolis, the wants of ease, the conflux of all the magnates in the empire, and the pomp of a splendid court, totally effaced every consideration of military defence. Palaces adorn the rampart, the casemates and ditches were converted into workshops of tradesmen, plantations mark the counter-scarps of the fortress, and avenues of trees traverse the glacis, uniting the most beautiful suburbs in the world to the corps de la place. Although under such circumstances no obstinate resistance of the capital was to be expected, yet from the unexampled loyalty of the inhabitants it was confidently hoped that Vienna might for a few days serve as a tête-de-pont to cover the passage of the river; whence all preparations amounted to no more than to secure the place against a coup-de-main; and for this reason the Archduke had some time before directed field-marshal Hiller to send part of his corps along the right bank towards the capital, in the event of his (the Archduke's passage to the left shore.—Field-marshal Hiller now received orders to burn the bridge near Stain in his rear, to leave a small corps of observation near Krems, to hasten by forced marches with the bulk of his army o the environs of Vienna, and, as circumstances would permit, by occupying the small islands, to keep up the communication with the city and the debouche across

the bridges. The army of the Archduke now advanced without interruption, by Neupolla, Horn, and Weikendorf upon Stockerau; and, in order to overawe such enterprizes as the enemy might project from the environs of Lintz, part of the corps of the general of artillery count Kollowrath, which till then had remained near Pilsen with a view to secure the North and West frontier of Bohemia, was ordered to march to Budweis.—Napoleon had used so much expedition on his march to Vienna, that on the 9th of May his advanced troops appeared on the glacis of the fortress, whence they were driven by some cannon shot. From three to four thousand regular troops, as many armed citizens, and some battalions of country militia, defended the city; ordnance of various calibre was placed upon the ramparts; the suburbs were abandoned on account of their great extent; and the numerous islands and low bushy ground behind the town were occupied by some light troops of the corps of Hiller as well as by militia. The corps itself was posted on what is termed "the Point" on the left shore of the river, waiting the arrival of the army, which was advancing in haste. The occupation of Vienna formed too essential a part in the extensive plans of the French Emperor; its conquest had been announced by him with too much confidence, and was of too great importance towards confirming the prejudice of his irresistible power, for him not to employ every method of taking it before the assistance which was so near could arrive. For the space of twenty-four hours the howitzers played upon the town: and though several houses were set on fire, the courage of the inhabitants remained unshaken. But a general devastation threatened their valuable property, and when at length the enemy, availing himself of the numerous craft which he found there, crossed the smaller branches of the Danube, dislodged the troops from the

nearest islands, and menaced their communication with the left bank, the city was justified in capitulating, while the troops retreated by the great bridge of Tabor, which they afterwards set on fire.—The Archduke received this intelligence in head-quarters, between Horn and Meissau, and though it was scarcely to be expected that this city, surrounded as it was, should continue its resistance, the Archduke proceeded on his march without interruption, flattering himself that he might be able to execute his favourite project by a bold attempt to pass the Danube near Vienna.—This city capitulated on the 13th of May, so that there was no farther occasion to expose the army to hazard by crossing the Danube, for which no sufficient preparation had been made, and which must have been effected in the face of the enemy, and under local circumstances of the greatest disadvantage. By the surrender of Vienna the army had also lost a point of support on which to rest its military operations. In this situation of affairs the Archduke resolved to collect his army at the foot of the hill Bisamberg, and allow it a few days of rest, which, after so many forced marches, it urgently wanted. The cavalry, for the convenience of water, was posted along the Russ, a small rivulet, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes, and the advanced guard pushed forward to the Danube, in order to observe the movements of the enemy, and prevent his passing the river, which he had already attempted to do from Nussdorf, to what is called the Black Lake, but with so little success, that a battalion of his advanced guard was taken. The chain of the outposts extended on the left side as far as the March, and on the right to Krems; which as well as Presburg were occupied by some battalions.

The French army also found repose necessary, and whilst its corps were reuniting every preparation was making for the passage of the Danube.

The Emperor caused a bridge to be thrown over at the village of Ebersdorf, two leagues below Vienna, where the river is divided by two intermediate islands; and being under the necessity of spending a few days idle in waiting for the completion of the works, he amused himself in making a collection of gossiping anecdotes, which he sent off in the form of a bulletin to edify the good citizens of Paris. With all the flippancy of the idlest gabbler at a French *restorataur*, he begins without a wherefore or introduction of any sort.

"The people of Vienna praise the Archduke Rainier. He was Governor of Vienna, but when the revolutionary measures ordered by the Emperor Francis II. came to his knowledge, he refused to retain the government. The Archduke Maximilian was therefore appointed in his stead. This young Prince, who displayed all the thoughtlessness that could be supposed to belong to his age, declared that he would bury himself under the ruins of the town. He collected together all the restless, the indolent, and the worthless, of whom there is always a multitude in a great city, furnished them with pikes, and distributed all the arms which were in the arsenal.

"In vain did the inhabitants represent to him that a great city, raised by infinite labour and expence to so high a pitch of grandeur, ought not to be exposed to the horrors and devastation with which war is accompanied. These representations, however, only excited his passion, and his fury rose to such a height, that he gave no other answer but the order to fire bombs and howitzers on the suburbs, which could kill the inhabitants only, as the French were protected by their fortifications, and would derive a farther security from the practice of war.

"The people of Vienna experienced the most painful anxiety, and the town was believed to be devoted to destruction, when the Emperor Napoleon, to save the capital from the evils of a protracted defence, by rendering all defence evidently useless, ordered the troops to cross the arm of the Danube, and to take possession of the Prater.

"At eight o'clock an officer informed the Archduke, that a bridge was established at that quarter, that a great number of the French had crossed by swimming, and were already on that side of the river. At this news the hot-headed Prince grew pale, and was filled with terror. He passed the Prater in all haste; sent every battalion he met back by the bridge,

and made his escape, without having formed any arrangement for the defence of the town, and even without transferring to any person the command which he was abandoning. This, however, was the very same man who but an hour before had boldly pretended, that he would bury himself under the ruins of the capital.

"The fate of the House of Lorraine was foreseen by all intelligent persons, though in other respects of the most opposite opinions. Manfredini obtained an audience of the Emperor, in which he represented to him that this war would long weigh heavy on his conscience, that he would bring about the downfal of his House, and that the French would soon be at Vienna, "Poh! Poh!" replied the Emperor, "they are all in Spain."

"Thugut, in pursuance of the confidence which the Emperor formerly placed in him, took the liberty of making repeated representations.

"The Prince de Ligne said aloud—"I thought I was old enough not to have outlived the Austrian Monarchy." And when the old Count Wallis saw the Emperor set out to join the army, he said, "There is Darius running to meet an Alexander: he will experience the same fate."

"Count Lewis Von Cobentzel, the chief promoter of the war of 1805, was at this time lying on his death-bed; but 24 hours before he expired, he addressed a vigorous and animated letter to the Emperor—"Your Majesty," he wrote, "ought to consider yourself as fortunate, with respect to the situation in which the peace of Presburgh has placed you. You are in the second rank among the powers of Europe, which is the same that your ancestors occupied. Avoid a war for which no provocation is given, and which will produce the ruin of your house. Napoleon will conquer, and will then have the right to be inexorable," &c. This last act of Count Cobentzel rendered his departing moments truly interesting.

"The Prince of Zizendorf, Minister of Foreign Affairs—several statesmen, who, like him, remained free from the contagion and fatal blindness of the moment—several other persons of distinction, and all that were respectable among the burghers, entertained the same sentiment, and spoke in the same manner.

"But the wounded pride of the Emperor Francis II.; the hatred of the Archduke Charles against Russia, and the displeasure with which he viewed the close union between that Empire and France; the gold of England, which had purchased the Minister Stadion; the levity and inconsiderateness of some dozen of women, or effeminate men; the deceptions and false reports of Count Metternich; the intrigues of the Razumowskis, the Dalpozzos, the Schlegels, the Gentzes, and other adventurers, whom England maintains for the purpose of sow-

ing discord on the Continent, have promoted this foolish and impious war.

"Before the French were victorious in the field, it was said they were few in number; that they were no more of them in Germany; that the corps consisted entirely of conscripts: that the cavalry were without horses: that the Imperial Guard had mutined, and that the Parisians were in insurrection against the Emperor Napoleon.

"After we had conquered, however, the French army was innumerable; it never was formed of more veteran or braver troops; the attachment of the soldiers to the Emperor Napoleon tripled and quadrupled their force? the cavalry was well mounted, numerous and formidable; the artillery was better served than that of any other nation, and moved with the rapidity of lightning. &c. &c.

"Weak princes! corrupt cabinets! ignorant, fickle, besotted men! Such are the snares which England has these fifteen years constantly spread for you, and into which you still readily fall. But the catastrophe which you prepared is at at length developed, and the peace of the Continent is for ever secured.

"Yesterday the Emperor reviewed General Nansouty's division of heavy cavalry. He bestowed much praise on the appearance of this fine division, which, after so severe a campaign, exhibited 5,000 horses in order of battle. His Majesty filled up the vacancies by new appointments, and bestowed the title of Baron, with an estate, on the bravest officer, and the decoration of the Legion of Honour, with 1,200 francs on the bravest cuirassier of each regiment.—We found at Vienna 500 pieces of cannon, a vast number of gun carriages and muskets, a great quantity of powder, abundance of ready-made military accoutrements, and a heap of bullets and cast iron.

"Only ten houses were destroyed during the bombardment. The people of Vienna remarked, that this misfortune had justly fallen on those who were the most zealous promoters of the war, and they perceived then that General Anderossy directed the batteries.

"The appointment of this General to the government of Vienna, has proved highly satisfactory to all the inhabitants. He had left behind in the capital an honourable recollection, and enjoys the general respect of the people.

"A few days rest have greatly benefitted the army: and the weather is now so fine, we have scarce any sick. The wine distributed to the troops is in abundance, and of excellent quality.

"The Austrian Government has made astonishing efforts for the support of this war. It is calculated that the preparations have cost above 300 millions in paper money. The mass

of bills in circulation exceeds in value 1,500 millions. The Court of Vienna had carried off the plates of this sort of assignats, for which a part of the mines of the monarchy are mortgaged, that is to say, their security is a property almost chimerical, and over which the holders of the paper have no controul. While a paper money which the public could not reject, and which daily decreased in value, was thus widely multiplied, the Court, through the bankers of Vienna, bought up all the gold that could be procured, and sent it to a foreign country. A month has scarcely elapsed since chests full of gold ducats, sealed with the Imperial seal, were forwarded by the North of Germany to Holland."

Perhaps all this frivolity came in the regular order of nature, and may be one of its beauties; for it just preceded another scene of the tragedy, which for magnificence and grandeur forms a direct contrast to it. Two days after the publication of the above bulletin, both armies engaged in the sanguinary contest, distinguished either as the battle of Aspern or of Essling, and which, whether it be considered in relation to the mighty question at stake, —the rank of the parties in command—the military science displayed—the obstinacy with which it was maintained, or the number of victims immolated to maintain its glory, will, perhaps, be regarded by posterity as among the most interesting events of history.

Amongst the peculiarities of the battle of Aspern, it is not the least remarkable that both combatants lay a positive claim to the victory; and place every individual under the necessity of seating himself in the tribunal of an impartial judge, to examine the evidence on both sides, before he can form any opinion upon it.

The Austrians preface their account of the battle, by stating the previous position of their army and by giving their plan of attack.

The head-quarters of the Archduke, were on the 16th of May, at Ebersdorf, near the high road leading to Brunn.—On the 19th the outposts reported that the enemy had taken possession of the

great island of Lobau, within about six English miles of Vienna; that his numbers increased there every hour, and that he seemed to be employed in throwing a bridge across the great arm of the Danube behind the island. From the top of the Bisamberg, the whole of the opposite country appeared to be enveloped in a cloud of dust, and the glitter of arms evinced a general movement of troops beyond Summering, towards Kaiser-Ebersdorf, whither according to later accounts, the Emperor Napoleon had removed his head-quarters, and was by his presence hastening, and promoting the preparations for passing the river.

On the following morning, at day-break, the Archduke resolved to reconnoitre the island, and employ for this purpose, part of the advanced guard, under the command of Field Marshal Lieutenant Count Klenau, supported by some regiments of cavalry.—The isle of Lobau forms a convenient place of arms, which is about six English miles long, and four and a half broad, and being separated by the large arm of the Danube from the right bank, nothing prevents the building of a bridge, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; and the great extent of the island affords the advantage of sending troops and ordnance from so many points of it, that the passage across the smaller arm to the large plain of Marchfield, may be made good by force of arms. It was soon perceived by the strength of the enemy's columns which advanced upon the island, and placed their cannon so as to support the second passage, that he meditated a serious attack. The advanced guard sustained a tolerable warm engagement, and the cavalry routed the first division of the enemy, which debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river, late in the evening; upon which the Archduke, whose intentions was not to prevent the passage of the enemy, but to attack

him the following day, retreated with his cavalry to Anderklaa, and ordered the advanced troops to fall back to Mass, according as the enemy should extend himself.

On the 21st, at day-break, the Archduke ordered his army under arms, and formed it in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the Bisam-hill and the rivulet Russ. The corps of Lieutenant-General Hiller formed the right wing near Stammersdorf; on its left was the corps of the General of cavalry Count Bellegarde, and next to that the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Hohenzollern, in the allignement of Deutsch-Wagram. The corps of Prince Rosenberg was posted by battalions in column on the Russbach on the rivulet Russ, kept Deutsch-Wagram strongly occupied, having, for the security of the left wing, placed on the heights beyond that place a division in reserve. The whole cavalry, which the day before had advanced under the command of Prince Lichtenstein, by Anderklaa, was called back into the line, filling, in two lines, the space intervening between the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern and the right of Prince Rosenberg.—The vast plain of the March-field spread like a carpet before the front of the line, and appeared, by the absence of every obstruction, to be destined to form the threatre of some great event. The grenadiers remained in reserve near Seiring, and the corps of the general of artillery, Prince of Reuss, kept the Bisam-hill, and the low bushy ground along the Danube strongly occupied. Part of it was still left near Krems, the corps being almost broke up by having so many of its divisions detached to so considerable a distance. At nine o'clock, the Archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and the troops to dine. The piquet of observation on the Bisam-hill reported that the bridge across the Danube behind the isle of Lobau, being now quite finished, was plainly perceivable, and

that troops were, without intermission, seen filing off over it, as well as passing in boats for the isle. The outposts, likewise, gave information of the gradual augmentation of the enemy in the town of Enzersdorf, and in the villages of Essling and Aspern, and of his advancing towards Hirschestetten. The Archduke Charles now thought that the moment for giving battle had arrived, and hastened to Gerasdorf, where the chief of his quarter-master-general's staff, General Baron Wimpfen, sketched out the following plan.

Plan of Attack upon the Hostile Army on its March between Essling and Aspern and towards Hirschestetten.

The attack to be made in five columns. The first column, or the column of the right wing, is formed by the corps of Lieutenant-General Hiller. It will advance from its present position in the direction between the "Point" and Leopoldau along the nearest arms of the Danube, pass along the left bank towards Stadelau and Aspern, keep constantly, near the Danube and the meadows bordering upon it, and is vigorously to repulse the enemy, who most likely will meet it on the same road, and to drive him from the left bank. This column must not suffer its progress to be impeded by the batteries which the enemy perhaps may have erected on the islands, but must endeavour to silence them by its cannon, and spiritedly continue to advance.—The second column consists of the corps of the General of cavalry, Count Bellegarde; leaving Gerasdorf to the left, it will march towards Leopoldau, endeavour to join the first column on the right, advance upon Kagran, and then, conjointly with the third column, upon the left, push forwards towards Hirschsetten.—The third column is composed of the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Hohenzollern. It will march by Sussen-

brunn to Breitenlee, and from thence towards Aspern, and will endeavour to join on its right the 2nd column, and on its left the 4th.—The 4th column under the command of Lieutenant-General Prince Rosenberg, is made up of that part of his corps which is posted on the right bank of the rivulet Russ: it is to advance, by Anderklaa and Raschdorf, towards Essling. The 5th column is formed by that part of Prince Rosenberg's corps which stands between Deutsch-Wagram and Beaumersdorf, it will cross the Russ near Beaumersdorf, leave Raschdorf and Bischdorf to the right, endeavour to pass to the left round the town of Enzersdorf, and secure its left flank by the Archduke Ferdinand's regiment of hussars.—The cavalry-reserve, under the command of General Prince Lichtenstein, to march by the way of Anderklaa, without coming in contact with the fourth column, between Raschdorf and Breitenlee, and straight to the New Inn, keeping continually at such a distance between the heads of the third and fourth columns as, in case of necessity, to be near at hand for the purpose of repelling the main body of the enemy's cavalry.—The grenadier corps of reserve to march from Seiring into the position which the corps of Bellegarde has taken up behind Gerasdorf.—All the columns and corps will march at twelve o'clock at noon. Their second lines to follow them at a suitable distance. Every column to form its own advance guard. The order of march, and the distribution of the field pieces, to be left to the judgment of the commanders of the respective corps. The whole will march by half divisions. Lieutenant-General Klenau to form the advanced guard of the fourth and fifth columns, and, before he advances, to suffer the heads of these columns to come quite up to him, in order that he may have at hand a sufficient support of infantry.—Of the corps of cavalry, the brigade unde the command of Veesey to be attached to

the second column, and the regiment O'Reilly to the third; and both brigades are to repair immediately, the former to Gerasdorf, and the latter to Sussenbrunn. The principal object in view is to drive back the enemy entirely over the first arms of the Danube, destroy the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupying the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery, especially howitzers.—The infantry will form on the plain in battalions, with half divisions from the centre.—His imperial highness the General-in-chief recommends order, closeness during the advance, and a proper use of every species of arms. His station will be with the second column.

Gerasdorf, May 21, 1809.

	Battalions.	Squadrons.
The 1st column consisted of	19	22
2nd — —	20	16
3rd — —	22	8
4th — —	13	8
5th — —	13	16
The corps of cavalry	—	78
The corps of grenadiers	16	—
Total	103	148

All of which amounted to 75,000 men, effective troops.

Of artillery there were 18 batteries of brigade, 13 of position, and 11 of horse artillery; in the aggregate 288 pieces of different calibres.—The enemy had availed himself extremely well of the advantages of the ground to cover his passage. The extensive villages of Essling and Aspern, mostly composed of brick houses, and encircled all round by heaps of earth, resembled two bastions, between which a double line of natural trenches, intended to draw off the water, served as the curtain, and afforded every possible security to the columns passing from the Isle of Lobau. Essling had a granary finished with loop-holes, and whose

three stories afforded room for several hundred men, while Aspern was provided with a strong church-yard. The left side of the latter village borders on an arm of the Danube. Both villages had a safe communication with the bushy ground near the Danube, from which the enemy had it constantly in his power to dispatch, unseen, fresh reinforcements. The Isle of Lobau served at once as a place of arms and as a tete-de-pont, a bridge-head for the bridge, in the rear across the main arm of the river.—The enemy, with the divisions of Generals Molitor, Boudet, Nansouty, Legrand, Espagne, Lasalle and Ferrand, under the Marshals Massena and Lasnes, as well as Marshal Bessieres, together with the guards of the Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden auxiliaries, had already left this position, and was directing his march towards Hirschstetten, when the first Austrian advanced guards met him.—If it be at all permitted in war, to indulge favourable presentiments, it was certainly excusable so to do at that great moment, when, on the 21st of May, exactly at twelve o'clock, the columns began to put themselves in motion for the attack. A general enthusiasm had taken possession of the troops: joyful war-songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded throught he air, and were interrupted by shouts of "Long live our Emperor, long live Archduke Charles!" whenever the Imperial general appeared, who had placed himself at the head of the second column. Every breast panted with anxious desire and high confidence for the decisive moment; and the finest weather favoured the awful scene.

Battle of the 21st of May.—First Column.

The advanced guard under General Nordman, consisting of two battalions of Gyulay and Lichtenstein hussars, had formed near the destroyed bridge of Tabor, and leaving the villages of Ka-

gran and Hirschstetten to the left, and Stadlau to the right, marched in the plain towards Aspern. It was followed by the column, which, having left the high road before the post-office at Stammersdorf, had marched from the right by half divisions. Its right flank along the Danube was covered by a battalion of St. Georgians, by the 1st battalion of Vienna volunteers, and by a battalion of militia, under the command of Major Count Collioredo.—Within a cannon-shot of Stadlau the out-posts met the enemy's piquets, which gradually retreated to their original divisions.—At this time General Nordman ordered two battalions of Gyulay to draw up en echellon, in order to favour the advance of the column. The enemy drawn up in large divisions, stood immediately before Aspern, having, to cover his front, occupied all the ditches of the fields, which afforded excellent breast-works. His right was covered by a battery, and his left by a broad and deep ditch (one of those that carry off the waters of the Danube when it overflows), as well as by a bushy ground, which was likewise occupied by several bodies in close order.—Though the enemy had the advantage of position all to himself, inasmuch as the freshes of the Danube were only passable by means of a small bridge, at which he kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches both with cannon and small arms, it did not prevent the 2nd battalion of Gyulay, immediately after the first had penetrated as far as the bushy meadows, to pass the bridge in a column, to form without delay, and with charged bayonets to attack the enemy, who precipitately retreated to Aspern, on which occasion that village, after a vigorous but not very obstinate resistance, was taken for the first time. It was, however, not long before the enemy had it in his power, by the arrival of a fresh reinforcement, to expel again the battalions of Gyulay. By this time some battalions of the

column had arrived, the chasseurs of major Schneider, of the 2nd column, joined the advanced guard of the 1st; Gyulay formed again, and the enemy was a second time pushed to the lower end of the village, though he succeeded again in regaining what he had lost. Both parties were aware of the necessity of maintaining themselves in Aspern at any rate, which produced successively the most obstinate efforts both of attack and defence; the parties engaged each other in every street, in every house, and in every barn; carts, ploughs, and barrows were obliged to be removed during an uninterrupted fire, in order to get at the enemy, every individual wall was an impediment to the assailants, and a rampart for the attacked; the steeple, lofty trees, the garrets and the cellars were to be conquered before either of the parties could stile itself master of the place, and yet the possession was ever of short duration; for no sooner had we taken a street or a house than the enemy gained another, forcing us to abandon the former: so this murderous conflict lasted for several hours; the German battalions were supported by Hungarians, who were again assisted by the Vienna volunteers, each rivalling the other in courage and persevèrance. At the same time the 2nd column combined its attacks with those of the first, having to overcome the same resistance, by reason of the enemy's constantly leading fresh reinforcements into fire. At length General Vacquant of the second column succeeded in becoming master of the upper part of the village, and maintaining himself there during the whole of the night. By the shells of both parties many houses had been set on fire, and illuminated the whole country around.—At the extremity of the right wing on the bushy meadow the combats were not less severe. The left flank of the enemy was secured by an arm of the Danube; impenetrable underwood, intersected only by footpaths, covered his front; and

a broad ditch and pallisadoes afforded him the advantage of a natural rampart.—Here fought at the beginning of the battle the 1st battalion of Gyulay under Colonel Mariassy; then the battalion of chasseurs under Major Schneider; next the St. Georgians under Major Mihailovich, and finally, the two battalions of Vienna volunteers under Lieut.-Colonel Steigentesh and St. Quenten. Here also the enemy was defeated; and the first day of this sanguinary engagement terminated by the occupation of Aspern by General Vacquant, at the head of eight battalions of the second column, while Lieutenant Field Marshal Hiller drew the troops of his corps from the village, placed them again in order of battle, and passed the night under arms."

Second Column.

"THE advanced guard, commanded by Lieutenant-General Fresnel, advanced by Leopoldau and Kagran towards Hirschstetten and consisted of one battalion of chasseurs and two battalions of Anton Mitsovsky under General Winzingerode, as well as the brigades of cavalry, Klenau and Vincent, under General Veesey. It was followed in the same direction by the column from its position near Gerasdorf. The enemy having been discovered from the eminences near Hirschestetten to be near Aspern and Essling, the brigade Veesey was detached against the latter place, the brigade Winzingerode was to dislodge the enemy from Aspern.—the column deployed before Hirschstetten, in two lines, in order to support the advanced guard, and leaving Aspern to the right, followed upon the plain, at a proper distance.—The brigade of Winzingerode, however, met with so spirited a resistance in its attempt upon Aspern, that an attack upon the front alone was not likely to be attended with success; the cavalry, there-

fore, of the advanced guard was pushed forward from Aspern on the left, in order to support the attack on the flank with the two batteries of cavalry, as well as to facilitate the junction with the third column, which was advancing by Breitenlee. At the same time the regiment of Reuss Plauen was ordered to the right of Aspern, with a view to an attack on that place, the rest of the corps was formed into close columns of battalions. Meanwhile the enemy formed his left wing, which he refused, towards Aspern, and his right upon Essling. Thus he advanced with columns of infantry and cavalry upon the main army, while an extremely brisk cannonade supported him. A line of 12 regiments of cuirassiers formed the centre of the second line of the enemy, giving to the whole an imposing aspect.—Meanwhile the attack of a battalion of Reuss Plauen on Aspern was repulsed, and it gave way, being thrown into consternation by the loss of its commander, but it rallied immediately after. Count Bellegard ordered General Vacquant to renew the attack with the regiment of Vogelsang, and to carry the village at all hazards. The latter obeyed the order with the most brilliant success, and Aspern, though defended by 12,000 of the best of the enemy's troops, was carried by storm; Vacquant being assisted by the regiment of Reuss Plauen, by a battalion of Archduke Rainer, and by the brigade of Maier of the third column.—To frustate this attack, the enemy advanced with two columns of infantry, supported by his heavy cavalry, upon the main army, repulsed the two regiments of Klenau and Vincent's light horse, and fell upon the infantry. The latter expecting him, with their firelocks ready, and with cool intrepidity, fired at ten paces distance so effectually, as totally to rout the enemy, upon which General Veesey, at the head of a division of Klenau, attacked the enemy's cuirassiers with such energy, that their retreat was

followed by that of the infantry.—Hereby the army along the whole of its line disengaged from the enemy, obtained communication on the left with the corps of Prince Hohenzollern, and became possessed of the important post of Aspern. The enemy being in full retreat attempted no further attack, and confined himself merely to a cannonade. The corps remained during the night under arms. The enemy repeated, indeed, his attacks upon Aspern, but they all proved unsuccessful.

Third Column.

This column, according to its destination, had began its march from its position at Seiring, by the road of Sussenbrun and Breitenlee. Some divisions of O'Reilly's light horse and chasseurs formed the advanced guard of the column, and at three o'clock in the afternoon met near Hirschstetten, the left wing of the enemy, which consisted mostly of cavalry.—As about this time the first and second columns advanced intrepidly upon Aspern, and the enemy began to fall back to his position between Essling and Aspern, Lieutenant-General Hohenzollern, ordered up his batteriers, and a very brisk cannonade commenced on both sides.—The first line formed in close columns of battalions, and advanced with the greatest resolution upon the enemy, when his cavalry suddenly rushed forward in such disproportionate numbers, and with such rapidity, that there was scarcely time to save the artillery which had been brought up, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. This was the remarkable moment in which the regiments of Zach, Joseph Colloredo, Zettwitz, Froon, a battalion of Stein's, and the second battalion of the Archduke Charles's legion, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General Brady, and Generals Buresch, Maier and Koller, demonstrated with

unparalleled fortitude what the fixed determination to conquer or die is capable of effecting against the most impetuous attacks. The enemy's cavalry turned these battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, repulsed the squadrons of O'Reilly's light horse, who were unable to withstand such a superior force, and in the confidence of victory, summoned these corps of heroes to lay down their arms. A well directed and destructive fire was the answer to this degrading proposition, and the enemy's cavalry abandoned the field, leaving behind them a considerable number of dead. This corps, as well as the others, passed the night on the field of battle.

Fourth and Fifth Columns.

These were both composed of the corps of Lieutenant-General Prince Rosenberg, on either bank of the Russbach, and directed their march from their position, to the right and left of Deutsch-Wagram.—The fourth proceeded through Roschdorf straight to Essling. Colonel Hardegg of Schwartzenberg's hulans conducted the advanced guard.—The 5th directed its march towards the left, in order to go a circuit round the little town of Enzersdorf, and drive the enemy out of the place. It was reinforced by Stipsic's hussars, under the command of Colonel Frolich. Lieutenant-General Klenau led the advanced guard of both columns. As this circuit round Enzersdorf obliged the fifth to describe a longer line, it was necessary for the fourth to advance rather more slowly. Enzersdorf, however, was quickly taken possession of by a detachment of Stipsic's hussars, and of the Wallachio Illyrian frontier regiment, as it was already for the greatest part evacuated by the enemy, from whom no more than thirty prisoners could be taken.—Both columns now received orders to advance upon Essling.—The fourth, in close columns of battalions of Czartorisky's, Archduke

Louis's and Cobourg's, who were twice successively attacked by upwards of two thousand of the enemy's heavy cavalry; but these were each time put to flight by our brave infantry with considerable loss. Of the fifth column, two battalions of Chasteler's advanced directly upon Essling, while two battalions of Bellegarde's were ordered to penetrate the left flank of the village, and the small contiguous wood. Two battalions of Hiller's and Sztarray's, besides the Archduke Ferdinand's and Stipsic's regiments of hussars, and two divisions of Rosenberg's light horse, were in the plain in readiness to support them.—These combined attacks were made twice successively with uncommon intrepidity, the enemy's troops were repulsed at all points, and driven into the village Essling which had been set on fire. But as the enemy's army was drawn up in several lines between Essling and Aspern, and met each new attack with fresh reinforcements, because the safety of his retreat depended on the possession of this village; our troops were obliged to abandon it at the approach of night, and to await, under arms the arrival of morning.—The reserve corps of cavalry had marched in two columns, under the command of General the Prince of Lichtenstein, and advanced upon the New Inn between Baschdorf and Breitenlee. General Count Wartensleben with Blankenstein's hussars, conducted the advanced guard. No sooner did the enemy perceive the general advance of the army, than he placed the bulk of his cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry, in order of battle between Essling and Aspern, and commenced a brisk cannonade upon the columns of Austrian cavalry as they approached. Prince Lichtenstein directed his columns to march forward in two lines, on which the enemy detached 4 or 5,000 cavalry from his position to the light, by way of Essling, and excited some ap-

prehension that he would impede the progress of the fourth column, or even break through it. The Prince therefore ordered four regiments to the left, and kept the second column formed in two lines, till he was convinced that the fourth would not meet with any impediment to its march. During this movement the remainder of the enemy's cavalry also advanced with the greatest confidence, towards the right wing of the Austrian. They were received with a firmness which they probably did not expect. The intrepidity of the cavalry which had marched up, particularly Maurice Lichtenstein's regiment, and the Archduke Francis's cuirassiers: the former, headed by its gallant Colonel Roussel, frustrated the repeated assaults of the enemy by counter attacks, which at length put a stop to his impetuous advance, and completely repulsed him with considerable loss. In these conflicts, the French general of division, Durosnel, equerry to the Emperor, was taken prisoner a few paces from him, as was also General Fouliers, equerry to the Empress, after having been slightly wounded. Notwithstanding the fire of musquetry which now ensued, the Prince ordered a general advance, by which the enemy was straitened in the alignment between Essling and Aspern, but on account of the flanking fire from Essling, could not be pursued any further. The fire of his guns was answered with spirit by the horse artillery. About seven in the evening 3,000 horse were again detached towards the point of union between the cavalry of the corps of reserve and the left wing of Prince Hohenzollern, and fell en masse upon the brigades of cuirassiers of Generals Kroyher, Klary, and Siegenthal; but by the steady intrepidity of the Blankenstein's and Riesch's regiments, who with the utmost gallantry made a sudden attack on the enemy's flanks, his cavalry was again repulsed, and part of it, which had fallen upon some of the regiments of the new levies,

placed in the third line, was cut off and there taken.—Meanwhile night came on, and it was passed by the Prince in the best state of preparation on the ground which he had gained from the enemy.

The last line of the French account is the only contradiction of this statement.

"Opposite to Ebersdorf" it says "the Danube is divided into three branches separated by two islands. The distance from the right bank to the island on that side, which is 140 toises in circumference, is about 1,000 toises. The distance from this island to the greater, is 120 toises, and here the stream runs with the greatest force. The larger of the two islands, which is called Lobau, and the water which separates it from the main land, is 70 toises broad. The first villages which appear after crossing are Gross-Aspern, Essling, and Enzersdorf. The passage of such a river as the Danube, in the presence of an enemy well acquainted with all the local circumstances, and who has the inhabitants on his side, is one of the greatest military enterprises that can be imagined.

"The bridge over the arm of the river which separates the right bank from the first island, and the bridge from this island to that of Lobau, were erected on the 19th. Molitor's division had been conveyed to the great island on the 18th by row-boats.

"On the 20th, the Emperor arrived on Lobau, and caused a bridge to be thrown over the last arm of the Danube from that island to the left bank, between Gross-Aspern and Essling. This arm being not quite 70 toises broad, only 15 pontoons were required for the operation, which were fixed within three hours by Colonel Aubry, of the artillery.

"Colonel St. Croix, aide-de-camp of Marshal the Duke of Rivoli, arrived first on the left bank, in an open boat, and General Lasalle's division of light cavalry, with Molitor and Boudet's divisions,

passed during the night. Afterwards the Emperor, accompanied by the Prince of Neufchatel, the Dukes of Rivoli and Montebello, examined the position of the left bank, and determined the field of battle, posting the right on the village of Essling, and the left on the village of Gross-Aspern. Both villages were garrisoned at the same time.

"On the 21st, at four in the afternoon, the enemy's army shewed itself, and appeared to have for its object to defeat our vanguard, and to drive it into the river. Vain enterprise!

"The Duke of Rivoli was the first attacked at Gross-Aspern, by the corps of General Bellegarde. He manœuvred with the divisions of Molitor and Legrand, and rendered completely abortive all the attacks which the enemy made that evening. The Duke of Montebello defended the village of Essling, and the Duke of Istria covered the plain with the light cavalry and Espagne's division of cuirassiers, protecting at the same time Enzendorf. The contest was severe, the enemy having 200 pieces of cannon and 90,000 men collected from the remains of all the Austrian corps.

"D'Espagne's division of cuirassiers, which made several fine charges, advanced in two squares, and took 14 pieces of cannon, but a ball killed General D'Espagne while fighting gloriously at the head of his troops. He was a brave man, and in every respect eminent and praiseworthy. The General of Brigade Foulers was likewise killed in a charge.

"General Nansouty arrived in the evening on the field of battle, with the single brigade commanded by General St. Germain, and distinguished himself by several brilliant charges. At eight o'clock the action terminated, and we *remained masters of the field*."

Far from assenting to this last proposition, the Austrians on the field of battle affirmed, that now, for the first time, Napoleon had sustained a defeat

in Germany. "From this moment" say they, "he was reduced to the rank of bold and successful generals, who, like himself, after a long series of destructive achievements, experienced the vicisitudes of fortune. The charm of his invincibility was dissolved. No longer the spoiled child of fortune, by posterity he will be characterized as the sport of the fickle goddess. New hopes begin to animate the oppressed nations. To the Austrian army the 21st of May was a grand and glorious epoch, that must inspire it with a consciousness of its strength, and a confidence in its energies. Overwhelmed by our irresistible infantry, its proud opponents were extended in the dust, and the presence of their hitherto unconquered Emperor was no longer capable of snatching from the heroes of Austria the laurels which they had acquired.—Napoleon's glory was obviously at stake. New efforts were to be expected the following day; but he was also obliged to fight for his existence. By means of fire-ships sent down the Danube, the Archduke had caused the enemy's bridge on the Lobau to be broken down, and its repairs would take up several hours. Meanwhile Napoleon had already in the evening been joined by the corps of General Oudinot; and all the disposable troops followed from Vienna and the Upper Danube, and were trasported across the river in vessels as fast as they arrived. The Archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps, which had not any share in the first engagement, to advance from its position near Gerasdorf to Breitenlee; and the short night was scarcely sufficient to complete the respective preparations for the commencement of a second tragedy."

Napoleon begins his account of the battle of the second day by an apparent attempt to deny the injury done to the bridge, "for" he says, "that during the night, General Oudinot's corps, St. Hilaire's division, two brigades of light cavalry, and

the train of artillery, passed over the three bridges. On the 22nd the Duke of Rivoli was the first engaged at four in the morning. The enemy made several successive attacks, in order to retake the village. At last the Duke of Rivoli, tired of acting on the defensive, attacked the enemy in his turn, and threw them into confusion. General Legrand distinguished himself by the coolness and intrepidity which characterise him. The General of Division Boudet was stationed at the village of Essling, and had orders to defend that important position. Observing that the enemy had a very wide space between his right and left wing, it was resolved to penetrate through his centre. The Duke of Montebello led the attack—General Oudinot was on the left, St. Hilaire's division was in the centre, and Boudet's division was on the right wing. The enemy's centre could not withstand the sight of our troops: in a moment every thing was borne down before them. The Duke of Istria made several brilliant and successful attacks.—Three columns of infantry were charged and cut down by the cuirassiers. The Austrian army was on the point of being destroyed, when, at seven in the morning, an aid-de-camp of the Emperor came to inform him, that a sudden rise of the Danube had set afloat a great number of trees, which were cut down during the late events at Vienna, and rafts which had been left on the bank; and that the bridges which formed the communication between the right bank and the little island, and between the little island and that of Lobau, had thereby been carried away. This rapid swell, which usually does not take place until the middle of June, on the melting of the snow, has been accelerated by the great heat which has for some days prevailed.—All the reserve parks of artillery which were advancing, were by the loss of the bridges detained on the right bank, as was also a part of our heavy cavalry, and the whole

of the Duke of Auerstadt's corps. This dreadful accident induced the Emperor to put a stop to the movement in advance. He ordered the Duke of Montebello to keep the field of battle which had been recognised, and then to take his position with his left wing resting on a curtain-work which the Duke of Rivoli covered, and his right wing at Essling.

"The artillery and infantry cartridges which were in our reserve park, could not now be brought across the river. The enemy was in a most frightful state of disorder at the moment when he learned that our bridges were broken down. The slackening of our fire, and the concentrating movement of our army, soon left him no doubt respecting this unforseen accident. All his cannon and artillery equipage which were before on the retreat, were again drawn out in line, and from nine in the morning to seven in the evening, he made the most astonishing exertions, supported by the fire of 200 pieces of cannon, to throw the French army into disorder; but all his efforts tended to his own disgrace. Thrice he attacked the villages of Essling and Gross-Aspern, and thrice he filled them with his dead. The fusileers of the guard, commanded by General Monton, acquired great glory; they defeated the reserve, formed of all the grenadiers of the Austrian army, and the only fresh troops which remained to the enemy. General Gross put to the sword 700 Hungarians, who had succeeded in entrenching themselves in the church-yard of Essling. The tirailleurs, under the command of General Curial, performed their first service this day, and proved that they possessed courage. General Dorsenne, commanding the old guard, posted his troops in the third line, forming a brazen wall, which was alone capable of withstanding all the efforts of the Austrian army. The enemy discharged 40,000 cannon shot against us, while we, deprived of our reserve

parks, were under the necessity of sparing our ammunition, lest some other unforseen events should occur.

In the evening the enemy returned to his old position, which he had left previous to the commencement of the attack, and we remained masters of the field. His loss is very great: it being estimated by the most experienced officers that he left more than 12,000 dead on the field. According to the reports of the prisoners, the enemy have had twenty-three generals and 60 superior officers killed or wounded. Lieutenant Field Marshal Weber, 1,500 men, and four standards have fallen into our hands. Our loss has also been considerable: we have 1,100 killed and 3,000 wounded.

The Duke of Montebello was wounded by a cannon ball in the thigh, at six o'clock in the evening of the 22nd; but an amputation has taken place, and his life is out of danger. At first it was thought that he was killed, and being carried on a hand barrow to where the Emperor was, his adieu was most affecting. In the midst of all the anxieties of the day, the Emperor gave himself up to the expression of that tender friendship, which, during so many years, he has cherished for this brave companion in arms. Some tears rolled from his eyes, and turning to those who surrounded him, he said—"*My heart required a painful stroke like this, to make me have any other concern to day than for my army.*" The Duke of Montebello was senseless, but recovered himself in the presence of the Emperor: he embraced him and said—"*Within an hour you will have lost him who dies with the glory and consolation of being your best friend.*" The General of Division, St. Hilaire, is also wounded: he is one of the first Generals of France. General Durosnel, aid-de-camp to the Emperor, was also killed by a cannon ball, while he was carrying an order. The soldiers displayed all that coolness and intrepidity which

is peculiar to the French. The waters of the Danube still increasing, the bridges of the Danube could not be restored during the night; the Emperor, therefore, ordered the army on the 23rd, to pass the left bank across the little arm, and take a position in the Island of Lobau, protecting the *têtes-de-pont*."

The extreme brevity and looseness of this account would have rendered it useless as a memoir of those transactions, if it were not illustrated by the minuter details of the Austrian narrative; accompanying them it sanctions all their conclusions.

Battle of the 22d of May.—Corps of Lieutenant General Hiller.

"With the morning's dawn the enemy renewed his attacks, which far surpassed in impetuosity those of the preceding day. It was a conflict of valour and mutual exasperation. Scarcely had the French guards compelled General Vacquant to abandon Aspern, when the regiment of Klebek again penetrated into the burning village, drove back the choicest troops of the enemy, and engaged in a new contest in the midst of the conflagration, till, at the expiration of an hour it was also obliged to give way. The regiment to Benjovsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the church-yard, the walls of which Field Marshal Lieutenant Hiller immediately ordered the first division of pioneers to pull down, and the church, together with the parsonage, to be set on fire. Thus was this regiment, supported by some battalions, commanded by General Bianchi, at length enabled to maintain itself at the entrance of the village, after overcoming the resistance, bordering on despair, opposed by the flower of the French army.—Neither could the enemy produce

any farther effect upon the bushy meadow, after Lieutenant General Hiller had ordered the force there to be supported by two battalions of Anton Mittrowsky's and a battery, on which the Jagers, St. George's, and two battalions of Vienna volunteers, drove him from his advantageous position, which he never afterwards attempted to recover. At about this time the left wing of the corps was likewise placed in security by three batteries sent by the lieutenant-general to support the general of cavalry, Count Bellegarde, and the latter maintained his ground against the most desperate attacks of the enemy. The Lieutenant-General Hiller kept his position on the left flank of the enemy, and the victory was decided in this quarter. The corps was therefore again formed in two lines, and thus awaited the approaching events."

Corps of the General of Cavalry Count Bellegarde.

"Count Bellegarde having received a message from General Vacquant, that the enemy was assembling in force before Aspern, towards the bushy meadow, and apparently had in view an assault upon that point, was just going to throw a fresh battalion of Argenteu's into Aspern, when the enemy, in heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous artillery, began to advance upon the centre of the corps in the plain. The troops stationed at Aspern, exhausted as they were with the incessant fire kept up during the night, were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the attack; their ammunition, both for artillery and musquetry, began to fail, and General Vacquant retreated in good order to the church-yard. This post, gained at so dear a rate, was again taken from him, after several attacks sustained in conjunction with Lieutenant-General Hiller; the place was alternately taken and lost, till at length

the superiority of our fire obliged the enemy to abandon the house, and the last assault of Hiller's corps prevented all farther attempts. From the moment of the retaking of Aspern it became possible to oppose an offensive movement to the enemy advancing upon the centre, and to operate upon his left flank and communication. The defence of Aspern was therefore left entirely to Hiller's corps, and while Count Bellegarde appuied his right wing on Aspern, he formed his left and the centre in the direction of Essling, in such a manner that, by degrees, he gained the right flank of the enemy, compelled him to retreat, and, by the complete effect of the artillery, brought to bear upon the left wing, which commanded the whole space from Aspern to Essling, gave him a most severe defeat."

Corps of Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern.

"The dawn of morning was with this corps also the signal for the renewal of the gigantic conflict. The enemy's infantry was drawn up in large divisions, and between it the whole of the heavy cavalry was formed in masses. The General of Cavalry, Prince Lichtenstein, on observing this order of battle, perceived the necessity of keeping up a close communication with the infantry placed near him: he therefore drew up his right wing en echiquier behind the corps of infantry, but kept his left wing together, with reserves posted in the rear.—A prodigious quantity of artillery covered the front of the enemy, who seemed desirous to annihilate our corps by the murderous fire of cannon and howitzers. Upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon were engaged on both sides, and the oldest soldiers never recollect to have witnessed so tremendous a fire.—Vain was every effort to shake the intrepidity of the Austrian troops. Na-

poleon rode through his ranks, and according to the report of the prisoners, made them acquainted with the destruction of his bridge, but added, that he had himself ordered it to be broken down, because in this case there was no alternative, but victory or death. Soon afterwards the whole enemy's line put itself in motion, and the cavalry made its principal attack on the point where the corps of cavalry of Prince Lichtenstein communicated with the left wing of Lieutenant-General the Prince of Hohenzollern. The engagement now became general; the regiments of Rohan, D'Aspre, Joseph Colloredo and Stain, repulsed all the attacks of the enemy. The generals were every where at the head of their troops, and inspired them with courage and perseverance. The Archduke himself seized the colours of Zach's, and the battalion, which had already begun to give way, followed with new enthusiasm his heroic example. Most of those who surrounded him were wounded; his adjutant-general Count Colloredo, received a ball in his head, the wound from which was at first considered dangerous; a squeeze of the hand signified to him the concern of his sympathizing commander, who, filled with contempt of death, now fought for glory and for his country.—The attacks of our impenetrable corps, both with the sabre and the bayonet, so rapidly repeated and so impetuous, as to be unparalleled in military annals, frustrated all the intentions of the enemy.—He was beaten at all points, and astonished at such undaunted intrepidity, he was obliged to abandon the field of battle.—About this time Lieutenant General the Prince of Hohenzollern observed on his left wing, near Essling, a chasm, which had been formed during the heat of the engagement, and afforded an advantageous point of attack. Frolich's regiment, commanded by Colonel Mecserry, was ordered thither in three corps, and repulsed four regiments of cavalry, accompanind

with infantry and artillery. The corps remained in the position which they had taken, till the grenadiers of the reserve, which the Archduke had ordered forward from Brietenlce, arrived to relieve the battalions exhausted with the sanguinary conflict, and continued the attack upon the centre of the enemy's position. Lieutenant-General D'Aspre penetrated with the four battalions of grenadiers of Przezinsky, Putcany, Scovaux, and Scharlach, without firing a shot, to the enemy's cannon, where he was flanked by such a destructive fire from Essling, that nothing but the presence of the Archduke, who hastened to the spot, could have induced his grenadiers to maintain their ground. Captain Count Dombass had already reached the enemy's battery, when he was wounded by two balls, and quitted the field.—About noon the Archduke ordered a new assault upon Esslingen, which was immediately undertaken by Field Marshal Lieutenant D'Aspre with the grenadier battalions of Kirchenbetter and Scovaux on the left, and Scharlach, and Georgy in front. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the very walls of the houses, burning internally and placed in a state of defence; some of the grenadiers thurst their bayonets into the enemy's loopholes; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair. The Archduke ordered the grenadiers to take up their former position, and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the assault, he would not permit them, as the enemy was then in full retreat."

Corps of Field Marshal Lieutenant Prince Rosenberg.

"Both divisions of this corps, which in advancing to the engagement, had composed the fourth and fifth columns, were formed before break of

day for a new attack, for which the enemy likewise made preparation on his side, but with a manifest superiority in numbers.—Prince Rosenberg resolved to attack the village of Essling with the Archduke Charles's regiment of infantry, to push forward his other troops in battalions, and in particular to go and meet the enemy, who was advancing in the open country between Essling and the nearest arm of the Danube.—The village was already gained, and battalions advancing on the left, obliged the enemy, drawn up in several lines, to yield. The most violent cannonade was kept up incessantly on both sides, and it was sustained by the troops with the greatest fortitude. Favoured by a fog which suddenly came on, the enemy's heavy cavalry ventured to attack on all sides the corps formed by Sztarray's and Hiller's regiments of infantry. These brave fellows received him with fixed bayonets, and at the last moment poured in their fire with such effect, that the enemy was compelled to betake himself to flight with considerable loss. Five times were these attacks on Sztarray's and Hiller's regiments repeated, and each time were they repelled with equal courage and resolution. The cavalry contributed all that lay in their power to the pursuit of the enemy and the support of the infantry.—Coburg's, the Archduke Louis's, and Czartorisky's regiments belonging to the division of Lieutenant General Dedovich, stationed on the right, renewed the exertions of the preceding day with the same distinction and the same success. After this severe conflict, the enemy seemed to have no inclination to expose himself to any fresh disaster, and confined himself merely to the operation of his superior artillery. About eleven A. M. Prince Rosenberg received orders from the Archduke, Commander-in-Chief, to make a new attack upon Essling, and a message to the same effect was sent to Lieutenant-General Dedovich, who com-

manded the right division of this corps.—Prince Rosenberg immediately formed two columns of attack under the conduct of Lieutenant-Generals Princes Hohenloe and Rohan, while Lieutenant-General Dedovich advanced against the citadel of the place, and the magazine surrounded with walls and ditches.—The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and our troops rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the village. Still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post, into which the enemy kept continually throwing new reinforcements, which was of the utmost importance for covering his retreat, which he had already resolved upon, and which he defended with an immense sacrifice of lives. Prince Rosenberg therefore resolved to confine himself to the obstinate maintenance of his own position, to secure the left flank of the army, and to encrease the embarrassment of the enemy by an incessant fire from all the batteries.—In the night between the 22d and 23d the enemy accomplished his retreat to the Lobau, and at three in the morning his rear-guard also had evacuated Essling and all the points which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube. Some divisions pursued him closely, and took possession as near as possible of the necessary posts of observation.—Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and in the history of war. It was the most obstinate and bloody that has occured since the commencement of the French Revolution.—It was decisive for the glory of the Austrian arms, for the preservation of the monarchy, and for the correction of the public opinion.—The infantry has entered upon a new and brilliant career, and by the firm confidence it has manifested in its own energies, has paved the way to new victories. The enemy's cavalry has seen its acquired but hitherto untried glory dissipated by the masses of our battalions,

whose cool intrepidity it was unable to endure. Cavalry and artillery have surpassed themselves in valour, and in the space of two days have performed achievements sufficient for a whole campaign.—Three pieces of cannon, seven ammunition waggons, 17,000 French muskets, and about 3,000 cuirasses fell into the hands of the conqueror. The loss on both sides was very great: this, and the circumstance that very few prisoners were taken by either party, proves the determination of the combatants either to conquer or die. The Austrian army laments the death of 87 superior officers, and 4,199 subalterns and privates. Lieutenant-Generals Prince Rohan, Dedovich, Weber, and Frenel, Generals Winzingerode, Grill, Neustadter, Siegenthall, Colloredo, May, Hohenfeld, and Buresch, 663 officers, and 15,651 subalterns and privates, were wounded. Of these, Field Marshal Lieutenant Weber, 8 officers and 129 men, were taken prisoners by the enemy. The loss of the enemy was prodigious, and exceeds all expectation. It can only be accounted for by the effect of our concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where all the batteries crossed one another, and calculated by the following authentic data.—Generals Lasnes, D'Espagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, are dead; Massena, Bessieres, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lasalle, and the two brothers Legrange, are wounded; Durosnel and Fouler taken.—Upwards of 7,000 men, and an immense number of horses were buried on the field of battle; 5,000 and some hundreds wounded lie in our hospitals. In Vienna and the suburbs there are at present 29,773 wounded; many were carried to St. Polten, Enns, and as far as Lintz, 2,300 were taken. Several hundreds of corpses floated down the Danube, and are still daily thrown upon its shores; many met their death in the island of Lobau, and since the water has fallen into the smaller arms of the river,

innumerable bodies, thus consigned by their comrades to everlasting obvilion, have become visible. The burying of the sufferers is not yet over, and a pestilential air is wafted down the theatre of death.—His imperial highness, the Generalissimo, has indeed undertaken the duty so dear to his heart, of acquainting the monarch and the country with the names of those who took the most active share in the achievements of these glorious days; but he acknowledges with profound emotion, that, amidst the rivalship of the highest military virtues, it is scarcely possible to distinguish the most valiant, and declares all the soldiers of Aspern worthy of public gratitude."

Upon a candid review of those two statements, Napoleon's own testimony seems to bear out the declaration of Austria; that the battle was decisive for the glory of her arms, and the preservation of her monarch, for beside the meagerness of his account, there is a pettiness in attempting to conceal his minor misfortunes, that forbids any candid mind to give him full credit, when he denies the greater misfortune of having been beaten. When he states, that "General Foulers was killed in a charge," and "General Durosnel as he was carrying an order," he was mean enough to tell a falshood, for the paltry purpose of depriving his antagonist of the credit of having made them prisoners; now in an official letter written by his order to the Emperor of Austria, these generals are proved to have been made prisoners, for they were subjects of an especial negociation relative to which the French have recorded the following particulars.

"On the 10th of April, at the very time when the Austrian General prostituted his character and spread a snare for the King of Bavaria, by writing the letter which has appeared in all the the public papers, General Chasteller excited the Tyrol to insurrection, and surprised seven hundred French conscripts, who were going to Augsburg, where

their regiments were, and who were marching in the confidence of peace. Obliged to surrender and made prisoners, they were massacred. Among them were 80 Belgians, born in the same town as Chasteller. Eighteen hundred Bavarians, made prisoners at the same time, were also massacred. Chasteller, who commanded, was witness to these horrors. He not only made no opposition to them, but he is accused of having smiled at the massacre, hoping that the Tyrolians, having to dread the vengeance due to a crime which they could not hope would be pardoned, must be more firmly engaged in their rebellion. When his Majesty was made acquainted with these atrocities, he found himself in a difficult situation. If he had chosen to have recourse to reprisals, 20 generals, 1,000 officers, and 80,000 men, made prisoners during the month of April, might have satisfied the manes of the unhappy French, so cowardly butchered. But prisoners do not appertain to the power for whom they have fought; they are under the safe-guard of the honour and generosity of the nation which has disarmed them. His Majesty considered Chasteller, as acting without being authorised; for notwithstanding the furious proclamation and violent language of the princes of the House of Loraine, it was impossible to believe they could approve such crimes. His Majesty, in consequence, published the following order of the day:"—

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Imperial Head-quarters, Ens. May 5.

"By order of the Emperor, the person named Chasteller, stiling himself a general in the service of Austria, the mover of the insurrection in the Tyrol, charged with being the author of the massacre committed on the Bavarian and French prisoners by the insurgents, shall, upon being made prisoner, be carried before a military commission, and if judged guilty, be shot within 24 hours.

(Signed) 'The Prince of Neufchatel, Vice-Constable.
Major-General ALEXANDER."

"At the battle of Essling, General Durosnel, carrying an order to an advance squadron, was made prisoner by 25 uhlans. The Emperor of Austria, proud of so easy a triumph, caused to be published an order of the day, conceived in the following terms:"—

Copy of a LETTER *from his* MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *of* AUSTRIA *to* PRINCE CHARLES.

Wolkersdorfs, May 25.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

"I HAVE learned that the Emperor Napoleon has declared the Marquis of Chasteller out of the protection of the law of nations. This unjust conduct, contrary to the usages of nations, and of which there is no example in the latter periods of history, obliges me to have recourse to reprisals, and in consequence I order that Generals Durosnel and Foulers shall be kept as hostages, to undergo the same fate and same treatment as the Emperor shall make General Chasteller suffer. It is repugnant to my feelings to give such an order; but I owe it to my brave warriors, and my brave people, who may be exposed to a similar fate, while fulfilling their duties with ardent fidelity. I charge you to make known this letter to the army, and to send it by a flag of truce to the Major-General of the Emperor Napoleon.

(Signed) FRANCIS."

As soon as this order of the day came to the knowledge of his Majesty, he ordered the arrest of the Prince Colloredo, Prince Metternich, Count Pergen, and Count Haddick, and that they should be conveyed to France to answer for the lives of Generals Durosnel and Foulers. The Major-General wrote to the Chief of the Staff of the Austrian army the following letter:—

To the MAJOR-GENERAL *of the* AUSTRIAN ARMY.

Schoenbrunn, June 6.

"HIS Majesty the Emperor has been made acquainted with an order, given by the Emperor Francis, which declares that the French Generals Durosnel and Foulers, whom the circumstances of the war have placed in his power, shall answer for the punishment which the laws of justice may inflict on M. Chasteller, who has put himself at the head of the insurgents of the Tyrol, and who has permitted the murder of 700

French prisoners, and between 18 and 1900 Bavarians, a crime unheard of in the history of nations, and which might have caused a terrible reprisal in 40 field marshal lieutenants, 36 major-generals, more than 300 colonels or majors, 1200 officers, and 80,000 soldiers, if his Majesty, did not consider prisoners as placed under his faith and honour, and had not besides proofs that the Austrian officers in the Tyrol have been as indignant at the action as ourselves.

"His Majesty, however, has ordered that Prince Colloredo, Prince Metternich, Count Frederick Haddick and Count Pergen, shall be arrested and conveyed to France, to answer for the safety of Generals Durosnel and Foulers, threatened by the order of the day of your sovereign. These officers may die, Sir, but they shall not die without being revenged; this vengeance shall not fall on any prisoners, but on the relatives of those who shall order their death. As to M. Chasteller, he is not yet in the power of the army; but if he should be taken, you may be assured that he will be be delivered to a military commission, and that his trial will take place.

"I request your Excellency to believe the sentiments of my high consideration.

(Signed) ALEXANDER, Major-General.

The city of Vienna and the states of Lower Austria, say the French, solicited the clemency of his Majesty, and requested to send a deputation to the Emperor Francis, to convince him of the impropriety of the proceeding with respect to the Generals Durosnel and Foulers; to represent that Chasteller was not condemned, that he was not arrested, but only accused before the tribunals; that the fathers, wives, children, and property of the Austrian generals, were in the hands of the French; and that the French army was determined, if a single prisoner was put to death, to make an example, of which posterity should long preserve the remembrance. The esteem which his Majesty entertains for the good inhabitants of Vienna, and the states, determined him to accede to this request. He granted permission to M. M. Colloredo, Metternich, Haddick, and Pergen, to remain at Vienna, and to the deputation to set out for the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. This deputation has returned. The Emperor

applied to these representations, that he was ignorant of the massacre of the French prisoners in the Tyrol; that he pitied the miseries of the capital and the provinces; and that his ministers had deceived him.

Buonaparté's wretched shift in the ensuing paragraph, of making his own soldiers totally ignorant of the state of his affairs, in order to make it be believed that they imagined themselves victorious, is equally mean; but in spite of all equivocation there are two plain and intelligable facts, which of themselves tell the whole story. In the first place, *on the morning of the 23d the army retreated*, and in the second place, Buonaparté himself acknowledges, that he *has not given the circumstantial details.*

"The works for replacing the bridges are continued with assiduity, and nothing will be undertaken until they are secure, not only against the accidents of the water, but against any thing that may be attempted against them. The rise of the river, and the rapidity of the stream, render much labour and great caution necessary.

"On the morning of the 23d, when the army was informed that the Emperor had ordered it to retreat to the great Island, nothing could exceed the astonishment of the brave troops. Victorious on both days, they had supposed that the remainder of the army had joined them; but when they were told that the high water had carried away their bridges, and that its continued increase rendered a supply of their ammunition and provisions impracticable, and that any movement in advance would be absurd, it was with difficulty they could be persuaded of the truth of this statement.

"That bridges constructed of the largest boats of the Danube, secured by double anchors and cables, should be carried away, was a great and entirely unforeseen disaster; but it was extremely

fortunate that the Emperor was not two hours later in being informed of it. The army, in pursuing the enemy, would have exhausted its ammunition, which it would have been impossible to replace.

" On the 23d, a great quantity of ammunition was sent to the camp at Inder-Lobau.

" The battle of Esling, of which a circumstantial report *shall be* made, pointing out the brave men who distinguished themselves therein, will, in the eyes of posterity, be a new memorial of the glory and inflexible firmness of the French army.

" The Dukes of Montebello and Rivoli, on that day displayed all the powers of their military character.

" The Emperor has given the command of the 2d corps to Count Oudinot, a general tried in a hundred battles, in which he has always evinced the possession of equal courage as skill."

If any doubt could remain it must be wholly dissipated upon observing the moral effects evinced in the frankness and revived hopes of the following documents.

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE 24th OF MAY.

" The days of the 21st and 22d of May will be eternally memorable in the history of the world. The army has given proofs of patriotism, heroism, and contempt of danger which posterity will admire, and our descendants hold up as specimens of rare and great actions. It furnished the enemy, who had lately boasted of its annihilation, with bloody proofs of its existence. It has surpassed my great expectations, and I feel proud to be its leader. You are in the field of battle the first soldiers of the world; be so also in the spirit of discipline, in the love of order, and in respect to the property of the citizen; then would you not only be the first, but the *only* army, and your grateful country would bless your deeds. Our beloved Monarch has confidence in you, and thanks you with paternal emotions for the security of his throne, and the welfare of your families.

" I expect immediately from the Commander of the different corps the most circumstantial relation of what took place with their respective divisions. The country and the Sovereign wish to be acquainted with the supporters of their

independence, glory, and greatness; their names shall shine in the annals of Austria; till then I can only name and reward those whose distinguished merit is either recognized by the whole army, or whom accident brought nearer to my personal observation.

"Prince John of Lichtenstein, General of Cavalry, has immortalized his name. This feeling, and my ardent attachment to his person, are pledges of the gratitude of our Monarch. I can reward him only by the public expression of my esteem.

"In the name of his Majesty, I nominate as Commanders of the Order of Theresa, Baron Wimpfen, Col. Smola, &c.

"The ARCHDUKE CHARLES, Generalissimo."

LETTER,

From his MAJESTY *the* EMPEROR *and* KING, *to the* ARCHDUKE CHARLES, GENERALISSIMO.

DEAR BROTHER CHARLES,

"I DID, it is true, yesterday express to you in person, my warmest thanks for the glorious victory you have gained; but this is not sufficient for my heart. I say it now, and I shall repeat it on every occasion, because I, whom Divine Providence made the sovereign of a great monarchy, am utterly unable to reward you, my dear brother, your companions in arms, and my brave army, according to your deserts. It was reserved for you, the brother of my heart, the prime support of my throne, to interrupt, for the first time these fifteen years, the good fortune of the adversary. You are the saviour of the country, which, as well as the monarch, will eternally thank and bless you.

"With deep sensibility I yesterday observed the elevated courage and enthusiasm of the troops, and their manly resolution to assure by victory the independence of the monarchy. It was the sweetest moment of my life—a rare and heart-enlivening spectacle, and one which can never be eradicated from my mind. I beg you, dear brother, to declare this to my brave army, and to do every thing to preserve this rare spirit among them."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Embarrassments of Austria and Successes of the French.—Russian Declaration of War against Austria.—Extraordinary military Preparations.—Battle of Wagram.—Discomfiture of the Austrian Army.—Armistice.—British Diversion in favour of Austria, a little too late.—Conditions of Peace.

WHATEVER advantages ought to have accrued to Austria, from the issue of this battle, she was not in a condition to take the benefit of them, owing to the deranged state of her finances, or rather owing to a want of the necessary talents to draw out her own resources; for it is impossible that any government possessing, as that of Austria does, the richest and most fertile states in the universe—inhabited by an immense population, can suffer any want which is not founded in the deficiency of its own capabilities. Public credit was sinking so rapidly, under the weight of her paper money, that the enemy, notwitstanding his career was stopped, was enabled to maintain his ground, although the capital was six miles in the rear of his main army; and he had, as it were, an army opposed to him on each wing.

Great reliance was placed upon the landwehr, which was levied throughout all the Emperor's dominions; large bodies of Moravian militia, as well as the Hungarian Insurrection, were expected to swell the armies very considerably; but amidst all these hopes, the Archduke John was obliged to fly before the Viceroy and the Duke of Ragusa, through Italy, Venice, Croatia, Istria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and finally to abandon

even Raab in Hungary to the invader's forces; whilst the Duke of Dantzic subdued the Tyrol, and the unfortunate Schill was hunted down by northern mercenaries in the pay of Napoleon.

Every preparation seemed to be making on both sides, to decide the grand struggle on the banks of the Danube; and there was a probability that the great destroyer and disturber of mankind might have met a severe chastisement, in a situation where his retreat must have been, eventually cut off, when the Emperor of Russia,—the *magnanimous* Alexander, saved him, by declaring war against Austria, and obliging a part of the troops destined to reinforce the Archduke, to maintain the defence of Gallicia.

The senseless and mischievous alliances of Tilsit and Erfurth, thus displayed one of the greatest Princes of Europe, in the disgraceful character of an accomplice, in the act of pillaging a neighbour. This offence of so enormous a nature, and so hateful a design, deserves to be punished by many a volume of the bitterest censures; but we must not suffer our attention to be occupied about the jackal, when the lion himself appears in view.

The Emperor Napoleon was indefatigable in the collection of all the physical and moral powers of his situation, to combine his means in making one grand effort, which should extricate him from the perilous inactivity to which he seemed exposed, in the neighbourhood of a foreign capital. The islands on the Danube afforded an ample field for the exercise of his mathematical and mechanical genius, and he resolved to employ his corps of engineers, in perfecting his own peculiar tactics; he resolved that the disposition of his artillery should secure him victory, even if his antagonist should out number him in troops.

The Austrian generals also endeavoured to

strengthen their position by raising immense military works; the right of which was protected by Aspern, and the left by Enzersdorf. The villages of Aspern, Essling, and Enzersdorf, and the intermediate country, were covered by redoubts, and surrounded by pallisadoes and frizes, and defended by more than 150 pieces of battering cannon, taken from the fortresses of Bohemia and Moravia.

The French official account states, that "the works raised by General Count Bertrand, and the corps he commands, had, since the beginning of the month, entirely subdued the Danube. His Majesty instantly resolved to collect his forces in the Island of Lobau, open upon the Austrian army, and bring on a general engagement. It was not because the position of the French army was not a very fine one at Vienna. Master of the whole right bank of the Danube, having in his power Austria, and a considerable portion of Hungary, he enjoyed the greast plenty. If some difficulties had been experienced in providing sustenance for the people of Vienna, this arose from an ill-organized administration, from embarrassments which were every day diminishing, and from difficulties which were naturally produced by the situation in which the country was placed, in a land in which the trade in corn is an exclusive privelege of the government. But how could the troops continue to be separated from the hostile army, by a canal of three or four hundred toises in breadth, when the means of passing over had been prepared and secured? This would have given credibility to the impostures which the enemy had scattered with so great profusion throughout his own and neighbouring countries: this would have cast a doubt over the occurrences at Essling, and would, finally, have authorised the supposition of there being in fact, a substantial equality between armies so different, of which

one was animated and in some measure reinforced by multiplied successes and victories, while the other was dispirited by the most striking reverses.

. " All the intelligence collected concerning the Austrian army shewed that it was considerable; that it had been recruited by numerous bodies of reserve, by the levies from Moravia and Hungary, and by all the *landwehrs* (fencibles) of the provinces; that its cavalry had been re-mounted by requisitions in all the circles, and its draughts of artillery tripled by immense levies of horses and carriages in Moravia, Hungary, and Bohemia. To add new chances in their favour, the Austrian generals had raised military works, of which the right was protected by Gros-Aspern, and the left by Enzersdorf. The villages of Aspern, Essling, and Enzersdorf, and the intervals between them were covered by redoubts, surrounded by pallisadoes and frizes, and defended by more than 150 pieces of battering cannon, taken from the fortresses of Bohemia and Moravia.

" It was inconceivable how the Emperor, with his experience in war, could think of attacking works so powerfully defended, backed by an army estimated at 200,000 men, as well troops of the line as militia and new raised levies, and who were supported by 8 or 900 pieces of field artillery. It appeared more simple to throw some fresh bridges over the Danube, a few leagues lower down, and thus render useless the field of battle prepared by the enemy. But in this latter case it was not thought practicable to avert the inconveniencies which already nearly proved fatal to the army, and succeed in the course of two or three days in protecting these new bridges from the machines of the enemy.

" On the other side the Emperor was tranquil. Works were raised upon works in the Island of

Lobau; and several bridges on piles, and several rows of stoccadoes were fixed at the same place.

"This situation of the French army, placed between these two great difficulties, had not escaped the enemy. He was aware that his army too numerous and unwiedly, would be exposed to certain destruction if he acted on the offensive: but, at the same time, he believed that it was impossible to dislodge him from the central position in which he covered Bohemia, Moravia and a part of Hungary. It is true that this position did not cover Vienna, and that the French were in possession of this capital. But this possession was, in a certain degree, disputed, since the Austrians remained masters of one bank of the Danube, and prevented the arrival of the articles most indispensable to the subsistence of so great a city. These were the reasons of hope and fear, and the subject of conversation in the two armies.

"On the 1st of July, at four o'clock of the morning, the Emperor removed his head-quarters to the Island Lobau, which had been already named by the engineers the Island Napoleon. A small island to which had been given the name of the Duke of Montebello, and which bore upon Enzersdorf, had been furnished with ten mortars and twenty 18-pounders. Another island, called Island Espagne, had been supplied with six pieces of battering cannon (12-pounders), and four mortars. Between these two islands, a battery had been raised, equal in force to that of the island Montebello, and in like manner bearing upon Enzersdorf. These 62 pieces of battering artillery had the same object, were in two hours to destroy the little town of Enzersdorf, drive away the enemy, and demolish the works. On the right, the Island Alexander, with four mortars, two ten pounders, and twelve six-pounders, (battering cannon) were to beat upon the plain and protect the operations of the bridges.

"On the 2d the aide-de-camp of the Duke de Rivoli passed over to the Mill Island with 500 voltigeurs, and took possession of it. This island was also furnished with cannon. It was joined to the continent, on the left side, by a small bridge. In the front a little *fleche* was raised, and this redoubt was called *petit*.

"In the evening the redoubts of Essling appeared to be jealous of these works: not doubting that they were a first battery, formed to act against themselves, they fired upon them with great activity. This was precisely the intention in having seized this island. The attention of the enemy was to be drawn to this point, in order to conceal from him the operations really proposed.

"On the 4th, at 10 in the evening, General Oudinot caused 1,500 voltigeurs to be embarked on the great arm of the Danube, commanded by General Conroux. Colonel Baste, with 10 gunboats, convoyed them, and disembarked them beyond the little arm of the Island Lobau, in the Danube. The batteries of the enemy were soon silenced, and he was driven from the woods to the village of Muhleuten.

"At eleven in the evening the batteries raised against Enzersdorf received orders to begin their firing. The howitzers set this unfortunate little town on fire, and in less than half an hour the enemy's batteries had ceased to operate.—The Chief of Battalion Dessales, Director of the bridges, and Engineer of the Marine, had prepared in the Island Alexander, a bridge of 80 toises, of a single piece, and five great ferry-boats.—Colonel Sainte Croix, aide-de-camp of the Duke de Rivoli, embarked in barges with 2,500, men, and landed on the left bank.—The bridge of a single piece, the first of the kind which has hitherto been made, was fixed in less than five minutes, and the infantry passed over it with great rapidity. Captain Bazelle fixed a bridge of boats in an hour and a

half.—Captain Payerimoffe formed a bridge of rafters in two hours.

" Thus, at two o'clock in the morning, the army had four bridges, and had debouched on the left 1,500 toises below Enzersdorf, protected by the batteries, and the right upon Vittau. The corps of the Duke de Rivoli formed the left; that of Count Oudinot, the centre; and that of the Duke of Auerstadt, the right; the corps of the Prince de Ponte-Corvo, the Viceroy, and the Duke of Ragusa, the guard, and the cuirassiers, formed the second line and the bodies of reserve. Utter darkness, a violent storm, and rain, which fell in torrents, rendered this night as frightful, as it was propitious to the French army, and was about to be glorious to it.

" On the 5th, at day-break, every one perceived what had been the project of the Emperor, who was then, with his whole army, arranged in order of battle at the extremity of the enemy's left, having turned all his entrenched camps, having rendered his works useless, and thus obliging the Austrians to abandon their positions, and come and offer him battle on the spot that was convenient to him. The great problem was thus resolved, and without passing the Danube on other points—without receiving any protection from the works he had raised, he forced the enemy to fight three quarters of a league from his redoubts. From that moment the greatest and happiest results were presaged.

" At eight in the morning, the batteries which had played upon Enzersdorf had produced such an effect, that the enemy was obliged to let that town be occupied by no more than four battalions. The Duke of Rivoli dispatched his first aide-de-camp, Sainte Croix, against it, who did meet with a great resistance, and took prisoners all who remained in it.

" Count Oudinot surrounded the Castle of

Sachsengang, which the enemy had fortified, forced 900 men who defended it, to capitulate, and took 12 pieces of cannon.

" The Emperor then caused the whole army to spread itself along the immense plain of Enzersdorf.

" In the mean while, the enemy, confounded in all his projects, gradually recovered from his astonishment, and endeavoured to regain some advantages in this new field of battle. For this purpose he detached several columns of infantry, a considerable number of pieces of artillery, and all his cavalry, as well of the line as the new levies, in order to attempt to out-flank the right of the French army. In consequence, he occupied the village of Rutzendorf. The Emperor ordered General Oudinot to carry this village, to the right of which he sent the Duke of Auerstadt, in order to proceed to the head-quarters of Prince Charles, going always from the right to the left. From noon till nine in the evening, the French armies manœuvred on this immense plain. All the villages were occupied, and when the French had reached the heights of the entrenched camps of the enemy, they fell of their own accord, and as if by enchantment. The Duke de Rivoli caused them to be occupied without resistance. It was thus we seized the works of Essling and Gros-Aspern, and the labour of 40 days was of no use to the enemy. He made some resistance in the village of Raschdorf, which the Prince de Ponte Corvo caused to be attacked and carried by the Saxons. The enemy was every where overwhelmed by the superiority of our fire. The immense field of battle was covered with his remains.

" Strongly alarmed by the progress of the French army, and the great successes which it obtained, with scarcely any effort, the enemy put allhis troops in motion, and at six in the evening

he occupied the following position:—his right from Stadelau to Gerasdorf, his centre from Gerasdorf to Wagram, and his left from Wagram to Neusiedel. The French army had its left at Gross-Aspern, its centre at Raschdorf, and its right at Glenzindorf. In this position, the day was nearly at a close, and we had necessarily to expect a great battle on the morrow; but this was to be avoided, and the position of the enemy to be intersected so as to prevent him from forming any plan, by taking possession, in the night, of the village of Wagram. In this case his line, already of an immense length, being suddenly assailed and exposed to the chances of combat, the different bodies of his army would be dispersed without order or direction, and we should succeed at an easy rate, and without any serious engagement. The attack on Wagram took place, and our troops took possession of the village; but a column of Saxons and a column of French mistook each other in the dark for enemies, and this operation failed.

" We then prepared for the battle of Wagram. It appears that the disposition of the French General and the Austrian General were inverted. The Emperor passed the night in accumulating his forces towards his centre, where he was in person, within cannon shot of Wagram. With this view, the Duke de Rivoli moved upon the left of Aderklau, leaving at Aspern a single division with orders for it to fall back, in case of necessity, upon the Isle of Lobau. The Duke of Auerstadt received orders to leave occupied the village of Grosshoffen that night, to approach the center. The Austrian General, on the contrary, weakened his centre to secure and augment his extremities, which he still farther extended.

" On the 6th, at day-break, the Prince de Ponte Corvo occupied the left, having the Duke de Rivoli in a second line. The Viceroy connected

him with the centre, where the corps of Count Oudinot, that of the Duke of Ragusa, those of the Imperial Guards, and the divisions of cuirassiers, formed seven or eight lines.

The Duke of Auerstadt marched from the right to reach the centre. The enemy, on the contrary, put Bellegarde's corps in motion for Stadelau. The corps of Collowrath, Lichtenstein, and Hiller, connected their right with the position of Wagram, where Prince Hohenzollern was, and with the extremity of the left at Neusiedel, where the corps of Rosenberg *debouched*, in order also to out-flank that of the Duke of Auerstadt, moving in opposite directions, encountered each other, with the first rays of the sun, and gave the signal of battle. The Emperor instantly repaired to this point, ordered the Duke of Auerstadt to be reinforced by the divisions of the Duke of Padua's cuirassiers, and the corps of Rosenberg to be attacked in flank by a battery of 12 guns, of the division of Count de Nansouty. In less than three quarters of an hour, the fine corps of the Duke of Auerstadt gave a good account of the corps of Rosenberg, defeating it, and driving it beyond Neusiedel with considerable loss.

"In the mean time, a cannonade commenced along the whole of the line, and the enemy's dispositions were every moment discovering themselves. The whole of his left was secured with artillery. One might have said, that the Austrian General was not fighting for victory, but was looking only to the means of improving it. This disposition of the enemy seemed so absurd, that some snare was apprehended, and the Emperor delayed some time before he ordered those easy dispositions which he had to make to disconcert those of the enemy, and render them fatal to him. He ordered the Duke of Rivoli to make an attack on the village occupied by the enemy, and which

somewhat straitened the extremity of the centre of the army. He ordered the Duke of Auerstadt to turn the position of Neusiedel, and thence to push on upon Wagram; and he formed the Duke of Ragusa's troops, and those of General Macdonald in column, to carry Wagram at the moment the Duke of Auerstadt should *debouch*.

"While these proceedings were taking place, information was received that the enemy was making a furious attack upon the village carried by the Duke of Rivoli, that our left was out flanked by 3,000 toises, that a brisk cannonade was already heard at Gros-Aspern, and that the space between Gros-Aspern and Wagram seemed to be covered with an immense line of artillery. There was no longer any room for doubt, that the enemy had committed an enormous fault, and we had only to profit by it. The Emperor instantly ordered General Macdonald to form the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque in columns of attack. He ordered the division of Nansouty to be supported by the horse-guards, and a battery of 60 guns belonging to the guards, and 40 of different other corps. General Count Lauriston, at the head of his battery of 100 pieces of artillery, marched at a trot against the enemy, advanced without firing to within half gun-shot distance, and there opened a prodigious fire, which silenced that of the enemy, and spread death among his ranks. General Macdonald then advanced at the *pas de charge*. The General of division Reille, with the brigade of fusileers and sharp-shooters of the guards, supported General Macdonald. The guards made a change of front, in order to render this attack infallible. In an instant the enemy's centre lost a league of ground; his right became alarmed, and perceiving the dangerous position in which it was placed, rapidly fell back. The Duke of Rivoli, at that moment, attacked it in front. Whilst the rout of the centre struck

consternation into the right of the enemy, and precipitated its movements, the left was attacked and out-flanked by the Duke of Auerstadt, who had carried Neusiedel, and who having gained the elevated plain, was marching upon Wagram. The divisions of Broussier and Gudin covered themselves with glory.

" It was then only ten o'clock in the morning; and those who had the least penetration saw that the fate of the day was decided, and that the victory was ours.

" At noon, Count Oudinot marched upon Wagram, to assist the attack of the Duke of Auerstadt. He was successful, and carried that important position. After ten o'clock, the enemy fought only to effect his retreat; at twelve this was manifest; it was conducted in disorder; long before dark the enemy was out of sight. Our left was posted at Jetelsee and Ebersdorf; our centre upon Obersdorf, and the cavalry of our right extended their posts as far as Shonkirchen.

" On the 7th, at day-break, the army was in motion, and marching upon Kornenbourg and Walkersdorf, and had some posts near Nicolsbourg. The enemy, cut off from Hungary and Moravia, had been forced to fall back upon Bohemia.

" Such is the narrative of the battle of Wagram, a battle decisive and ever memorable, in which from three to four hundred thousand men, and from twelve to fifteen hundred pieces of cannon, contended for great interests, upon a field of battle, studied, planned, and fortified by the enemy for several months. Ten pair of colours, 40 pieces of cannon, 20,000 prisoners, including between 3 and 400 officers, and a considerable number of generals, colonels, and majors, are the trophies of this victory. The fields of battle are covered with the slain; among whom are the

bodies of several generals, and among others, one called Norman, a Frenchman, a traitor to his country, who prostituted his talents against her.

" All the enemy's wounded have fallen into our hands. Those whom he abandoned at the commencement of the action, were found in the adjacent villages. It may be calculated that the result of this battle, will be that of reducing the Austrian army to less than 60,000 men.

" Our loss has been considerable; it is estimated at 1,500 in killed, and from three to 4,000 wounded.

" The Duke of Istria, at the moment when he was preparing for an attack with the cavalry, had his horse shot dead by a cannon-ball, which fell upon his saddle, and slightly grazed his thigh.

" The General of Division Lasalle was killed by a musket ball. He was an officer of the greatest merit, and one of our best light cavalry generals.

" The Bavarian General Wrede, and Generals Seras, Grenier, Vignolle, Frere, and Defrance, were wounded.

" Colonel Prince Aldobrandini was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball; the Majors of the Guard, Dausmenil and Carbenau, were also wounded; the Adjutant Commandant Duprat was killed; the Colonel of the 9th Infantry of the line fell on the field of battle. That regiment has covered itself with glory.

" The officers of the staff are preparing a return of our losses.

" A particular circumstance incident to this grand battle is, that the columns nearest to Vienna were only about 1,200 toises from it. The numerous population of that capital covered the turrets, the steeples, the roofs of houses, and every elevated situation to witness this spectacle.

" The Emperor of Austria left Wolkersdorf on the 6th, at five in the morning, and ascended a

tower, from which he had a view of the battle, and where he remained until midnight. He then set off in all haste.

" The French head-quarters were transferred to Wolkersdorf, on the morning of the 7th.

" The enemy's retreat is a defeat. We have collected a part of his baggage. His wounded have fallen into our hands: we have already counted more than 12,000; all the villages are filled with them. In five or six hospitals alone we have found more than 6,000.

" The Duke de Rivoli, pursuing the enemy by Stokeran, is already arrived at Hollabrun.

" The Duke de Ragusa had at first followed on the road to Brunn, which he quitted at Wulfersdorf, in order to take that of Znaim. At nine o'clock this morning he met at Laa a rear-guard, which he routed: he took 900 of them prisoners. He will be to-morrow at Znaim.

" The Duke of Auerstadt is arrived to-day at Nicolsbourg.

" The Emperor of Austria, Prince Anthony, with a suit of about 200 chariots, coaches, and other carriages, slept on the 6th at Erensbrunn, the 7th at Hollabrunn, the 8th at Znaim, whence they set out at nine of the morning. According to the relation of the country people who conducted them, their dejection was extreme.

" One of the Princes de Rohan was found wounded on the field of battle. Lieutenant Field Marshal Wussakowiez is among the prisoners.

" The artillery of the guard covered itself with glory. Major Aboville who commanded was wounded. The Emperor has made him General of Brigade. The chief of a squadron of artillery, Grenner, has lost an arm. These intrepid artillerymen displayed all the power of this terrible weapon.

" The horse chasseurs of the guard charged,

and drove back on the day of the battle of Wagram, three squares of infantry. They took four pieces of cannon. The light-horse Poles of the guard charged a regiment of pikemen. They took the Prince of Auersperg prisoner, and captured two pieces of cannon.

" The Saxon Hussars d'Albert charged the Cuirassers d'Albert, and took their colours. It was a very singular thing to see two regiments, belonging to the same Colonel, fighting one against the other.

" It appears that the enemy is abandoning Moravia and Hungary, and his retiring into Bohemia.

" The roads are covered with the men belonging to the Landwehr and the levee en masse, who are returning to their houses.

" The losses which desertion is adding, to those the enemy has sustained in killed, wounded, and prisoners, are concurring to annihilate his army.

" The numerous letters which have been intercepted are a striking picture of the discontent of the hostile army, and the disorder which reigns in it.

" Now that the Austrian Monarchy is without hope, it would evince being unacquainted with the character of those who govern it, not to expect that they will humiliate themselves as they did after the battle of Austerlitz. At that epoch, they were, as now, without hope; and they exhausted all their protestations and oaths."

The Austrians do not deny the main fact of this account, but they represent the French loss to have been very serious, and they affirm that they took 6,000 prisoners notwithstanding the circumstances of the battle obliged their army to retreat towards Bohemia. Of the bravery of the troops and the courage with which the struggle was maintained, there can be no doubt; that the retreat was conducted in good order, is equally certain;

but that the Austrian Commander was guilty of a terrible omission, both in suffering the works to be carried on to such an extent without annoyance, and in permitting the landing to take place below Enzersdorf is perfectly evident. It is said, in excuse, that the ground was greatly in Napoleon's favour, which is true; but it was also in his favour, that he was suffered to cross the river unmolested.

The Emperor Francis now saw reason to appeal once more, to the generosity of the victor; and Napoleon desirous of taking advantage of a hint thrown out in the beginning of the contest, that "a design had been entertained in the Austrian cabinet, of attempting to secure the peace between the two Empires, by drawing closer the bands of union and alliance:" resolved to stop the progress of his arms, and to sacrifice part of his pretensions, with the view of bringing the House of Hapsburgh over to his interest. The Duke of Ragusa had attacked the town of Znaim, and the Duke of Rivoli had taken the bridge, on the 12th, when the Emperor was informed, that the Prince John of Lichtenstein was sent to him by the Emperor Francis to treat for peace, and to desire a suspension of arms; Napoleon ordered the firing instantly to cease, and an armistice was signed before two o'clock in the morning.

However it is to be deplored that a cause so criminal as Napoleon's should have succeeded so well, nobody can hesitate in admiring the great talents by which it was secured. It was within three months, from the time of quitting his own capital on the 12th of April, until signing the armistice on the 12th of July, that he completed the subjugation of the Austrian Empire, although that government had taken twelve months to make its preparations. The great merit of his victories consisted in the time in which they were achieved; for if he had possessed no more activity than

his antagonists, he would have been attacked by an enemy in his rear, before he had broken the heart of that in his front. Great Britain had agreed to furnish Austria with large pecuniary supplies, and a powerful auxillary expedition. The funds were anticipated and had contributed towards equipping the armies of the Archdukes, but the expedition had all the usual characteristics of English expeditions about it: it was both mistimed and misplaced. Instead of its being landed at Ostend, where it must have detained a French army for the protection of Flanders, or at Scheverling, where it might have penetrated far enough to have formed a junction with Schill and the Germans; it was sent to the mouths of the Scheld, where the physical obstacles that obstructed it rendered very few French troops necessary to defeat its object. So much as to the place of landing, then as to time; this auxillary expedition set sail from the Downs just sixteen days after the ally it went to serve had opened a negociation with the enemy. The expedition landed on the Island of Walcheren on the 30th of July, and soon got possession of great part of Zealand and South Beveland; but the army was unable to proceed either to Burgen-op-zoom or to Antwerp, and therefore failed in capturing a large naval force, which had been fitted out in the arsenal of the latter.

A large part of the French army being set free by the state of the Treaty with Austria, the Prince of Ponto Corvo was commanded to rally a force in Brabant in order to expel the English. It was supposed that the Cabinet of St. James's would secure an artificial compensation for the prodigious sums it had squandered away, by affecting to attach great value to the port of Flushing, and therefore have kept the Island of Walcheren in its possession; but if ever such an idea was entertained it was corrected by the indigenous epidemic,

which converted every barrack into an hospital, and ranked the greater part of the army, either amongst the dying or the dead. This expedition, which was the most powerful, was also the most calamitous and the most useless that ever was undertaken by Great Britain; its imbecility was so evident, that part of the British ministers themselves were anxious to disavow it. It had the happy tendency of breaking them up, and leading to a parliamentary enquiry, which taught them that they had a character to recover; which if they thought it worth while to work for, must be carried by a greater exertion of vigilance and foresight.

Napoleon found more leisure and enjoyed more tranquillity whilst the British were carrying on these operations, than he had been able to indulge in during the whole of his public life:—as long as he could see how they were employed, he knew he had nothing to fear; it was only when they appeared to be idle that his suspicions were on the alert. He amused himself with the imperial family of Austria until the month of October; and from the palace of Schoenbrun, reported the progress of his negociation to his imperial brother of Petersburgh.

LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

"Schoenbrun, Oct. 10, 1809."

"MONSIEUR MY BROTHER,—The Duke of Vicenza informs me, that your Imperial Majesty wished for peace with Sweden, and that you have obtained the advantages which you desired. Will your Majesty permit me to congratulate you upon the event?

"The negociations of Altenburgh have been transferred to Vienna. Prince John of Lichtenstein conducts them with M. De Champagny, and I expect I shall soon be able to inform your Majesty of peace being concluded with Austria. You will see by the treaty, that, conformably to your wishes, the greater part of Gallicia will not change masters; and that I have managed your interests as you would have done yourself.

conciliating every thing with what honour required of me. The prosperity and welfare of the Duchy of Warsaw require that it should possess the favourable regards of your Majesty; and your Majesty's subjects may rest assured that, in no case, nor under any circumstances, have they to expect any protection from me.

"I have given Austria the most advantageous peace that she could expect. She only looses Saltzburg, and a mere trifle on the side of the Inn. She cedes nothing in Bohemia. On the side of Italy she cedes only what is indispensable for my communication with Dalmatia. The Austrian Monarchy, therefore remains entire. This is the second experiment which I have been willing to make. I have used towards her a moderation which she had no right to expect. In this I hope I have done what is gratifying to your Majesty.

"I send your Majesty the English journals last received. You will there see, that the English ministers are fighting with each other; that there is a revolution in the ministry, and that all is perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from 25 to 30,000 men in the most horrible country in the world; it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea; so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren! In Spain they have lost a very considerable number of men. General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of 90 battalions, and from 40 to 50 squadrons, whilst he had in his front the army commanded by the King, which was of equal force. It is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption. It remains at present to be ascertained who are to succeed the late ministry.

"The United States are on the worst terms with England, and seem disposed, sincerely and seriously, to approximate to our system.

"I pray God, Monsieur my brother, to have you in his high and holy keeping.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

When the peace between the two Empires was concluded, it appeared that the terms were less oppressive to Austria than might have been expected, from the rancorous spirit in which the war had been commenced, and the early successes that had attended the army of the conqueror; her suffering consisted rather in the display of her humiliation, than in the actual dimination of her

power. The Emperor Francis was obliged to recognise all the alterations that had taken, or *might subsequently* take place in Spain; and to acknowledge his accession to the vindictive system adopted by Napoleon and Alexander towards his only ally Great Britain.

Whilst Austria thus stood alone and deserted as it were by the whole continent, France paraded the power of her alliance, by causing an article of teh treaty to declare the present peace "to be common to his Majesty the King of Spain, his Majesty the King of Holland, his Majesty the King of Naples, his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his Majesty the King of Wirtemburg, his Majesty the King of Saxony, and his Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Most Eminent Highness the Prince Primate, their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstardt, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and all the Princes and Members of the League of the Rhine, the allies in the present war, of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine."

The cessions of Austria were said to be placed in the hands of Napoleon to form part of the League of the Rhine, and were as follows:—"1. The territories of Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgaden; that part of Upper Austria, situate on the further side of a line running from the Danube, at the village of Straas, therein comprehending Weissenkirch, Wedersdorff, Michelbach, Greist, Muckenhoffen, Helst and Jedina; thence in the direction of Schwandstadt, the town of Schwandstadt on the Aller, and thence ascending along the bank of that river, and the lake of the same name, to the point where the lake touches upon the territory of Saltzburg.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall only retain property in the woods belonging to the Salz-Cammer-Gut, and forming part of the

manor of Mondsee, with liberty to cut and carry thence the brushwood, but without enjoying any right of sovereignty upon that territory.—2 He also cedes to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, the county of Goritia, the manor of Montefalcone, the government and city of Trieste, Carniola, with its dependencies on the Gulf of Trieste, the circle of Willach, in Carinthia, and all the territories lying on the right bank of the Save, from the point where that river leaves Carniola, along its course to where it touches the frontiers of Bosnia; namely a part of provincial Croatia, six districts of military Croatia, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littorale, Austrian Istria, or the district of Castua, the islands depending on the ceded territories, and all other territories, howsoever named, upon the right bank of the Save; the middle stream of the said river serving as the boundary between the two states. Lastly, the Lordship of Radzuns lying in the Graubunderland.—3. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the King of Saxony, the territory of Bohemia depending upon, and included in the territory of the Kingdom of Saxony, namely, the parishes and villages of Guntersdorff, Taubantrank, Gerlochsheim, Lenkersdorf, Schirgiswald, Winkel, &c.—4. He cedes and makes over to the King of Saxony, to be united to the Duchy of Warsaw, the whole of Wester or New Gallicia, a district round Cracow, on the right bank of the Vistula, to be hereafter ascertained, and the Circle of Zamosc in Eastern Gallicia.—The district round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula, shall in the direction of Podgorze, have for its circumferance the distance from Podgorze to Wieliczka. The line of demarkation shall pass through Wieliczka, and to the westward touch upon Scawina, and to the eastward upon the Beek, which fall into the Vistula at Brzedgy.—Wieliczka and the whole of the territory of the

Salt-pits shall belong in common to the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Saxony. Justice shall be administered therein in the name of the Municipal Power; there shall be quartered there only the troops necessary for the support of the police, and they shall consist of equal numbers of those of both nations. The Austrian salt from Wieliczka, in its conveyance over the Vistula, and through the Duchy of Warsaw, shall not be subject to any toll-duties. Corn of all kinds, raised in Austrian Gallicia, may also be freely exported across the Vistula.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, may form such an arrangement with regard to these boundaries, as that the Save, from the point where it touches upon the Circle of Zamosc, to its confluence with the Vistula, shall serve as the line of demarcation between both states.—5. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in the innermost part of Gallicia, a tract of territory containing a population of 400,000 souls, the city of Brodi being, nevertheless, not therein included. This territory shall be amicably ascertained by commissioners on the part of both empires."

Europe was now, to all appearance, more completely enslaved than it had been at any period since the chains of papal tyranny were first broken. Except the British isles, and the Iberian peninsula, there was not a foot of ground, but what was tabooed by the anti-commercial decrees of the most vindictive and irreconcilable enemy that Britain had ever been opposed by. Great part of the civilized world was again sunk into a state of inanity and despair, the successive result of conscious insignificance; the universe existed, as it were, for England or France alone, and all other nations became mere spectators, looking on to see which would carry off the prize. Indeed

the spirit of independence did not always breathe in so high a key as this; for sometimes instead of complimenting the little island for the fortitude with which it maintained the contest; some were found to censure the presumption, that would brave calamity, by provoking the wrath of such a mighty and invincible foe. Notwithstanding every discouragement, notwithstanding friends and allies became even open or secret enemies; Britain continued proudly to defend the Rights and Independence of Nations, and with this view the wealth and power of the state were exerted with redoubled energy, to meet the enemy again in the Peninsula, and bid defiance to all the treasures of his genius, and his indignation.

CHAPTER. XIX.

On the Military Conscription.

THE energies and successes of France, having very generally been attributed to its peculiar mode of raising its military force, and a great part of the odium against Buonaparté's government, having been directed against that system, his Biographer would fail to do him justice, were he not to investigate the charges and examine how far the several imputations are well founded. We prefer this course to the adoption of a sweeping exculpatory defence, that the system of conscription did not originate with Buonaparté; because by its continuance he has made it his own, and because it has formed a striking feature in his policy. Differing, as we do, from the general opinion upon this subject, we will keep our own observation distinct from our statement of the system itself; and that we may not be obnoxious to the charge of suppressing any particulars of it, to favour our own views, we will take it to be as it is represented by its enemies. Mr. Faber, who has censured it most severely, states that "two modes of recruiting which had been chiefly attempted during the first years of the revolution were, the *levy en masse*, and the *military requisition*.

"After the treaty of Campo Formio, the Directory went on from one act of encroachment and usurpation to another. The armies of France were in Switzerland, Lombardy, Savoy, at Rome, in Holland, in Egypt; they were at Piedmont and at Naples; and the Directors, from their palace of the *Luxembourgh*, menaced the whole world with war and revolution. Cousulting nothing but

their own blind presumption, they never thought of proportioning the means they employed to the ends which they pursued. The army was weakened by the number of battles the extent of conquests, and the discharges that were granted to many of the soldiers. Meanwhile the great powers of Europe assembled armies to avenge the violation of the established principles. It was for a military man to give the alarm on the critical situation of affairs, to rouse the government, and display the necessity of establishing order in the recruitment of the army, by insuring to it a regular supply. General Jourdan, a deputy of Upper Vienne, in the year 1798, presented in the Council of Five Hundred a long project of a law for a new mode of recruiting, under the name of *conscription;* intended to comprise the whole of the male population from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five, enabling the government to call them out successively, beginning with the youngest, in proportion to the exigencies of the state. The plan of the general was powerfully supported, and received the authority of a law. As circumstances became rapidly more and more urgent, it was speedily carried into execution by a levy of 200,000 conscripts; which had been preceded by a solemn address to the nation. These recruits were destined to fill up the deficiencies in the disorganized army of Italy, and to meet the campaign of 1799, memorable for the disasters of the French.

"In the discussions which took place in the Council of Five Hundred on the subject of the conscription, it was very justly denominated a permanent *levy en masse* of the French youth. The government of 1798 disappeared, but that which succeeded in its place maintained the permanent levy, and the law which enabled its successor to call out the conscripts, and to determine their number. This law of the conscription has been developed and improved by various subsequent

regulations, and the severity with which it has been since carried into execution has had no example in the whole revolution.

"Every year the conscription was renewed; that is to say, according to the terms of the law, all the young Frenchmen, who on the first day of each year attained any age between twenty and five-and-twenty years, are comprised in the conscription of the year, and are obliged to march if the necessities of the state require it. These conscripts are divided into five classes. Each class comprises the youths who were born in the same year. The first class consists of those who on the first day of the year of the conscription have completed the twentieth year of their age. The second class consists of those who on the same day have completed the twenty-first year; and so of the rest, class by class, and year by year. It follows that all the Frenchmen who are entering upon the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, or twenty-fifth year of their age, are placed for the whole time of the conscription in which they are comprized on the rack of uncertainty, since their lives and future destiny are dependant upon it: those who have commenced their twenty-fifth year, for one year only; the rest for two, three, four, and five years; for he who belongs to the conscription of this year, as having commenced his twenty-first year, will naturally belong to the conscription which follows, as having commenced his twenty-second.

It is true that the same law presents, as a mitigation of this severity, an alleviating circumstance, by enacting that each year the conscripts of the second class shall be obliged to join the army only when those of the first are all actually in service; and so of the rest, class by class. It is still further true, that except when very great exertions have been made, no other conscripts than

those of the first class have ever been called to join the army; these amount to 60,000 or 80,000 taken in one year. But as the total amount of the levy of conscripts is placed on no determined basis, as it depends entirely upon the requisition made by the government; every turn in the chances of war may present occasion for such a requisition, and it may be renewed any number of times. Thus instances have occured when 200,000 have been called out.

"The law admits neither restrictions nor modifications with regard to individuals; it reaches even those who by the council of the *commune* are designated as being, on account of infirmities, incapable of supporting the fatigues of war. Unable to serve with their bodies, they are made to serve with their purses, by paying a compensation proportioned to the quota of taxes, all taken together, which they or their parents annually contribute; a charge which rises from 50 francs for each twenty-five above 50 of annual payment, and may extend as high as 1,200 francs. Those alone, whose quota of contributions amounts not in the whole to more than 50 francs, are exempt from both serving and paying.

"In the Prussian states, where the military system is reckoned extremely severe, there are restrictions which humanity claims, which equity prescribes, and which the interests of society demand. The requisition spares, in behalf of the husbandman, the eldest son who is the support of the family; it establishes exceptions in favour of the masters of workshops and manufactories; and admits of exemptions to whole cities and provinces. According to the French law, no situation, no condition of life exempts from appearing. The summons to the conscripts of the year 14, which the prefect of the department of the Seine published at the time in Paris, will furnish an idea of it. "All the conscripts of the year 14," it is

there declared, " present within the limits of the district, whether married men, widowers, or bachelors, susceptible or not susceptible of exemptions, even those who by deformity, or disease are evidently incapable of supporting the fatigues of war, are commanded to present themselves in person at the assembly herein pointed out. Persons absent, and those in actual confinement, must be represented by their parents, guardians, friends, or some other person delegated by themselves." The French law includes no mitigated regulation. The widow's only son; he, whose labour is the sole support of a sick or aged father; he, who by the death of father and mother has become the parent of a family of helpless brothers and sisters; the young man who has just been, as well as he who is just going to be married; all are equally seized in its unrelenting grasp. I have seen a conscript, the son of a blind mother, compelled to march. I have seen carried off, in three successive years, the three sons of a handicraftsman, who had bred them to his own occupation, and who beheld himself, at the age when his strength had left him, bereft of the support to which he had fondly looked during many years of labour and solicitude. These instances I have seen; I have seen a hundred and a hundred more of the same sort; and who is the man that could enumerate all the examples which are exhibited within the limits of France? Even the most legitimate exemptions as they are exceptions to the law, are extremely difficult to be obtained. Infinite are the steps which it is necessary to take, the exertions which it is necessary to make; interest, and powerful interest too, is necessary to succeed; because every functionary is afraid of committing himself. A mayor who should presume to protect a conscript, without being powerfully supported, would incur certain ruin. Several mayors have been branded with a hot iron, as guilty of forgery,

have been condemned to the pillory, or to the gallies, for having favoured certain young men by giving them certificates declaring them incapable of service. Over no operation does terror so arbitrarily preside as over that of the conscription.

" The conscripts bound to march, were divided into two classes. The first comprised those destined for the active army; the second those who formed the reserve. Every young man congratulated himself when the lot marked him out for the reserve, in the hope of being excused from marching in person. At the opening of the campaign of 1805, Buonaparté, by a decree of the senate, caused all the conscripts of reserve of the years 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, to be placed on the lists of active service. This was a thunderstroke to many individuals; as those who during three, four, or five years, trusting to the chance of not being called, had embraced a permanent condition, or formed indissoluble connections, found themselves suddenly condemned to bear a musket.

" It is true that the law allowed a man to exempt himself from personal service by providing a subsitute, but every one had not the pecuniary means. The law prescribed as indispensable conditions, that the substitute should have been born or domiciliated in the district, that he should come within the conscription of the year, and be of the size and constitution required. It is evident that the substitutes must be drawn from the class of the poorest of the youths, who pay, either by themselves or parents, not more than 50 francs of annual assessment. Those who are qualified to serve as substitutes, have learned to profit by that favourable circumstance, and have founded upon it plans of future fortune. In the first year of the execution of the conscription-law, substitutes were found in the departments for 400 and 600

francs; afterwards a man was obliged in the same departments, to pay almost as many thousands, especially after the insatible hand of finance thrust itself in for a share, by subjecting the documents of the transactions passed before the prefects and sub-prefects between the conscripts and their substitutes, to the duties of stamping and registration. The price of a substitute, as fixed in a number of the departments, often surpassed the means of the middling classes, and in almost all the districts the inhabitants formed societies for the purpose of furnishing them by personal contributions.

"The work of the conscription is a superior operation; and all other operations, those which concern the finances alone excepted, are superseded the moment it becomes the order of the day. Accordingly every functionary within the limits of his jurisdiction exerts all the most efficacious means he can employ to make it succeed to the satisfaction of the government. Every prefect, therefore, every sub-prefect and mayor, each within his own sphere of operations, publishes annually circular instructions, and explanatory rules, to ensure the success of the operations, and instruct those whom they concern. This branch of legislation has become in a few years most highly complicated; and there are departments where the printed papers which have appeared on the subject would, if collected, form great volumes. What contributes to extend that legislation more and more, is that each year the government, by means of the official agents, introduces changes into this or that part of the law; of which experience has pointed out the imperfections. Each prefect, then, adds developements, or makes applications according to the localities of his department.

"The first proceeding consists in the formation of the lists. The parish registers of the year

which has furnished the births for the conscription are consulted in the mayors districts, and the existence is verified of each of those who were there born. Those who are absent are summoned by bills posted up, and their parents are called upon to answer for them. Those who are living are described in the lists with the greatest care, and copies of the description are left at the chief town of the subprefecture with the officer of the *gendarmerie*, and the captain charged with the business of the recruiting in the district. These lists being formed, and all the preparatory measures for making sure of the individuals taken, the mayor notifies the day of drawing; that is to say, the day when each conscript must draw, as by lot, the number which assigns him his place among the companions of his destiny. It is a day of public mourning, and of agony in every family. All labour is abandoned; every one has a melancholy interest in being present at the solemnity. The drawing is performed in the public hall of the town. At the hour appointed the conscripts assemble; or in place of the absent, their parents, tutors, delegates, and respondents. The business is performed in the presence of the municipal council, under the presidence of the mayor; and if it is a chief town, the prefect or subprefect assists. The spectator beholds youths, conducted by their parents, overwhelmed with the weight of their calamity; he discovers sometimes mothers at the point of despair, who have accompanied all that they hold most dear in the world. A mournful silence reigns in the hall; not even a breath is heard; a sigh occasionally bursts. The mayor makes a short harangue; the name of each conscript is called; the conscript advances; he stretches out his hand to the urn; the destiny of many is included with his; he draws his own. This lottery of human beings is a horrible game! The prefect who is present, born in another depart-

ment, has a son, on whom, perhaps, at the same moment, the lot is passing at a distant part of the empire. The subprefect, born in the same department, perhaps also the mayor, behold their sons among the conscripts assembled; the son of the mayor touches the lot, the voice of the father trembles, his eye overflows; nevertheless he must pronounce a speech to inspire courage into the young soldiers. A third part, perhaps, of the members of the municipal council assembled have their sons among the conscripts. The sentiments of nature must remain silent before imperious necessity. The business being finished, the mayor first must raise his voice, with 'Vive l'Empereur!' and the military music strikes up a march. For the principal part of the hearers these marches are not sounds of delight. The functionaries present have not always the means of providing substitutes for their sons on whom the lot has fallen. After the drawing the substitutes are negotiated for. The conscripts who have drawn the first numbers are the first who must enter the ranks; the holders of the higher numbers have somewhat of a better prospect. But on the very day after the drawing the series of the numbers is often changed; unexpected cases, desertion chiefly, make large deficiences. A son had hoped to draw a number which would exempt him from service; the lot having fallen upon him, his parents wish to find a substitute; the expence would ruin them; the son chooses rather to abscond; his parents will pay less by paying the fine, and he hopes one day to see them again, by a change of government. On the frontiers particularly the desertion is sometimes enormous; out of a hundred conscripts eighty have been found deserters: such has frequently been the case towards the frontiers of Germany, as also towards the frontiers of Italy; nor have examples been wanting towards those of Spain. I have seen the ninety-

second one of the last reserve, obliged to make part of the active army. Young men, who often had no other resource in a foreign country than the profession of arms, have prefered a harder service to that of France, from aversion to the cause which it supports; and the French conscription has often furnished a rich harvest to the Austrian army.

"To supply these deficiencies different measures of precaution are taken; they are always, over and above the prescribed contingent, supplementary tickets or numbers which serve to fill up the vacancies which occur. Prudent prefects ordain supplementary tickets for men that are present, but who, they presume, may obtain exemptions from the council of recruiting; and in the last levies it has been the practice to make the supplementary conscripts march with the columns to the place for assembling. The first march of the conscripts is to the chief town of the sub-prefecture, where they assemble from all the mayorships of that jurisdiction, with the mayors at their head. The second march is to the capital of the prefecture, of the department, whence they set out for the army. At each departure, and each arrival, the music plays, speeches are made, and cries of 'Vive l'Empereur' are heard. The newspapers describe all this, but make no mention of the tears and the sobs which are mingled with it. Recruiting officers and subalterns conduct the convoys.

"In each department there is a council of recruiting, consisting of the prefect, a superior officer of the department, a major appointed by the minister of war, a recruiting captain, some members merely in a civil capacity, and two physicians. They examine each conscript, to ascertain whether he possesses all the qualities requisite for the military service. With respect to height, five feet only are required, and men even shorter are

admitted; if in other respects they have no corporeal defect, and are of a vigorous constitution, they are chosen for the species of light troops, called *voltigeurs*; those above five feet may serve in the cavalry or artillery. The necessity for supplementary conscripts renders the situation of the reserve far from secure; these remaining recruits cannot absent themselves from the department without permission from the recruiting officer; and he assembles them for exercise whenever he chooses. Desertions frequently happen on the road; and the substitutes are almost always the deserters. Having at their departure received the premium from those for whom they have engaged to serve, they disappear with it; and the unfortunate conscript whom they represent is again obliged to find a man for the place which has become vacant. The substitute is at the risk of the principal till he has actually joined his colours; it is not till then that the government takes cognisance of the delegated recruit. It sometimes happens that the conscript who has provided the substitute, to prevent the misfortune of having two men to find for the supplying of his place, accompanies his substitute to the place of his destination. The public functionaries, to make their responsibility safe, take precautions which prove the extent of their danger and apprehensions. When the time is come for the conscripts to march, they deem it not sufficient to give a general order, as is customary for every military troop: the recruiting officers who have the charge of conducting the column give individual orders, which through the mayor are addressed to the residence of every conscript in particular. The summons which the prefect of the department of the Seine, M. Frochot, addressed to the conscripts of the year 14, to make their appearance, contains a clause which may give an

idea of the details of the measures. ' The present summons,' it is there said, ' being rendered public by notices posted up, no conscript can excuse himself from not appearing under pretext of not having received the summons, which will be addressed to him at his habitation.'

" The conscripts who do not obey the calls and public summonses to appear are declared *refractory conscripts*. Mayors, officers of police, *gendarmes*, have orders to suspect, to interrogate, and to arrest. All, with the description of the individual in their pocket, must hunt for the *refractory conscripts*, making sure of all who have the appearance of being of the age of the conscription; and as appearances are deceitful, the *gendarmes*, often lay hold of persons above and below the age. Among a variety of precautions taken to prevent escapes, Mr. F. mentions a decree issued in 1805, by a prefect residing in one of the departments bordering on the Rhine; relative to the conscription of the year 14, and containing provisions which are in substance as follows. All proprietors and farmers of boats, rafts, and flying bridges, are forbidden to permit any person whatsoever to pass the river by these conveyances; those only which are established by the public treaties of the governments to which the two sides of the river belong have at present the special and exclusive authority of performing those transportations. There shall be established at each of those authorised places of passage a man commissioned to examine all the passengers, in order to prevent the desertion of the conscripts, and the escape of the refractories. If by means of the places of passage to which this interdiction refers, conscripts or refractories should succeed in escaping, the managers, farmers, and proprietors of the said instruments of passage shall be prosecuted and condemned in the penalties appointed by the laws, because they are responsible for the people in

their service. The *gendarmes* and the officers of the customs are specially charged with the vigilant execution of this decree.

" A thousand and a thousand similar measures, varying only in the formalities, according to localities, or the character of the prefects, enveloped the whole of France from the moment that the work of the conscription is commenced. Every class, every condition in life, every family, is struck with it. France then resembles a great prison house, in which one man watches another, one man flies from another. A man cannot walk a gun-shot from his home without being measured and questioned. Every where are keepers, watchmen, spies; one must always be loaded with a number of certificates and papers. France then, at last, resembles a large garrison, because every where there are sentinels and guards. The spectator often beholds a young man with a *gendarme* at his heels; often on looking closely he finds his hands tied, or even manacled. The measures of vigilance are multiplied in proportion as the frontiers are approached; a six-fold, perhaps a ten-fold file of watchmen and guards is there established. The legions of the custom-house then examine the countenance and physiognomy as they do the pocket.

" You are travelling. Presently you are stopped. A numerous croud obstructs the high-way. The clanking of chains—plantive voices—an escort of cavalry—naked swords—men pale and emaciated, heads shaven, hideously dressed, dragging fetters and cannon-balls, form a shocking prossession on the road. Of what atrocious crime, great God! are these miserable wretches guilty, to be reduced to so abject and deplorable a condition? —They are refractory conscripts and deserters, who, collected in the depôts in a department, are transported to a fortress in the interior.

" Several laws, decrees, and general orders ex-

ist which enact punishments for refractory conscripts and deserters when found. At the same time that provisionally their relations or respondents are subjected to the fine, at—the same time that every thing perhaps which they possess in the world is seized and sold, to make good the penalty imposed, and to pay the expense of the procedure, the youths who happen to be taken must satisfy with their persons the vengeance of the law. As soon as seized they are carried under a safe escort to the prisons of the district nearest at hand. There they suffer hunger and pain, because the district which ought to subsist them has not wherewithal to satisfy their wants. Happy are they who by selling the cloths from their backs are enabled to alleviate the miseries of their situation. The district must furnish a dress hideous, both in colours and make, of the coarsest materials, resembling that worn by the galley convicts. On a parade day the arrested conscript is brought out before the troop which happens to be at the place standing under arms. The law and his sentence are read to him; and he is declared unworthy to serve. He is stript of his garments; his head is shaved; he is disfigured by a dress contrived to resemble partly that of a monk under penance, partly that of a convict in the galleys; he has large wooden shoes put on his feet, and a chain, terminated by a heavy ball, which he must drag after him, is riveted to his leg. In this grotesque equipment Buonaparté has contrived to unite all that his calculated to frighten the imagination of a Frenchman, in as far as it presents the exterior of a criminal worthy of the most ignominious punishment; he has combined in it all that is calculated to humble military pride, and torture the sense of shame by attaching to it the marks and forms which characterize a penitent monk. It is in this costume, and assembled in convoys, that the condemned conscripts are conveyed through

France towards the fortresses, where they are employed on public works. There are four or five fortresses or citadels in the interior, appointed as places of punishment for refractory conscripts and deserters. It is stated in the decree that when any of the condemned youths, after a certain time, shall have manifested by the regularity of their conduct and marks of their love of order a change of sentiments, the labours which are imposed upon them shall be diminished, their situation shall be improved, and they shall be admitted into the companies of pioneers; to complete the favours bestowed upon them, they may after a long time be found worthy to be replaced in the ranks of the conscripts. Another means of eluding the law respecting the conscription has been followed by another coercive expedient; it is ordained by a recent decree that the conscripts who mutilate themselves in the view of exempting themselves from military service shall be collected into companies of pioneers.

"With regard to the military situation of the new conscripts. They do not form separate corps. Each district of a subprefecture is destined, during five years, for the recruit of the same corps of the army; the officers of these corps reside in the district, and conduct the conscripts of their department to the depôt. They are there taught to march, to turn to the right and left, to handle the musket. They learn to observe the word of command. The apprenticeship is very superficial; its duration depends on circumstances, and on the occasion the battalions have to be completed. It is six weeks, a month, or fifteen days; sometimes the conscripts are sent directly to the army, and are drilled in a hurry into the regiment during the moments of inaction. They are never taught what they have only to forget in war. There is no time for it. They are taught merely

what war requires, and war will perfect. Thus initiated, they are incorporated in the companies in the places marked by their size. The leaders of their file, their right and left hand men serve as examples to them; they march as they do, and practice supplies the defect of instruction. The conscripts enter on pay as soon as they are collected together in their department. They are paid on the road and at the depôt, as all the French soldiers are, that is to say, very irregularly. The dress is the last object which is thought of. Having received the cartouch-box and fire-lock, they commonly spend their time at the depôt in the ordinary cloths which they bring with them. The substitutes are distinguished by their dress; aware of the want of the accommodations of clothing in the corps, they make it part of their contract with those for whom they serve to be completely equipped. To uniform, as it is termed, the conscripts, they sometimes receive what is called a police-cap; and in order to give them a military air, it is placed on one side of the head. This cap is very often the only article of dress the conscripts have received when they quit the depôt. If on the road they pass through a country, either conquered or belonging to an ally, it is compelled to clothe them. Of all existing soldiers the French have the least advantage in point of appearance, as it respects either size, dress, equipment, or the handling or managing his arms.

"The condemnations pronounced by the courts of justice against refractory conscripts, conjointly with their relations, bound for them either by proximity or engagement, would throw still more light on the species of reception which the conscription meets with. But it is difficult to procure the entire lists of these condemnations, because they are not published by the tribunals, which communicate the particular sentences only to the parties. In general they even conceal the

number of these condemnations; because it might produce unfavourable effects on the minds of the people, and tend to discredit the government. Of the judgments, pronounced by some of the tribunals the number has however reached the public cognizance, either by the indiscretion of judges, or from some particular design of the tribunals themselves. It was announced in the public prints, that in 1805 the tribunal of primary jurisdiction, sitting at Lille, condemned for the conscription of the year, 135 refractories, and the tribunal sitting at Ghent condemned 70. It must be remarked that 200 conscripts form the maximum which one *arrondissement* of a department can furnish. In no city has opposition to the conscription more strongly manifested itself than at Antwerp.

Mr. Faber in his eloquent declamation, comprises most of the objections that have been urged against the conscription, and though they are less weighty than florid, they serve to show the nature of the resistance, by which the system has been opposed. "The conscription" he says "affects that which is the most important period of life. At the end of his twentieth year a young man has in general run his preparatory career: the knowledge and habits useful to his future life are acquired; on a view of all his circumstances, he gives to the exercise of his powers an object and chooses a situation of life. If at that moment the cruel trade of arms comes to turn him aside from his purpose, he loses, during the years of his laborious inactivity, the knowledge acquired with so much pains; all his connections are broken; and he fails in the object of his life. When the call to arms rings in their ears, these are the reflections of every young conscript, of every father of a family, of every mother. Some consolation would perhaps be felt, if at the end of one year, or even of two years, an absolute discharge brought back the youth from so dangerous an experience for ever

to his paternal home. But the law knows only how to take; it knows not how to concede. None of its provisions speak of the duration of the service, or fix a day for its cessation. Once entered into the ranks, the conscript is a soldier, and it is a principle in France, as in all military states, to give no soldier a discharge during the continuance of a war. To this hour not a conscript has returned home by discharge; and had there been discharges after a period of service, how few, alas! would have been the conscripts to profit by it?

"Hitherto every call to the conscription has been looked upon as a call to death; the manner of conducting the war has but too fully justified this inauspicious manner of regarding it. As to the fatal effects which every call has produced upon the industry of the country; who could venture to propose an estimate of them? There are states in which, at the age when a youth is swallowed up by the conscription, he is already of importance to the commonweal, by exerting productive powers, the total of which forms the strength and happiness of the community. In the mechanical professions how many have completed the term of their apprenticeship by the conclusion of their twentieth year, and are the source of honour and prosperity to the tradesman? Long before that period of life the son of the husbandman is the companion of his father's labours; and when the hand and the eye of the son are missed in the field of the father, the harvest will forcibly tell the tale of his absence. What can be a substitute for the hand and the eye of a son? It is happy if the paternal acres become not entirely waste while the son is condemned to carry the musket.

"The conscription has been a double calamity to all the productive arts; while it was carried off from them useful hands, it has enhanced the wages of labour. These are in a state of progressive in-

crease, whilst the situations which are in want of hands suffer or are ruined. This is a phenomenon which permits not the fugitive eye of the stranger to penetrate to its hidden causes: he is led to infer, from the rise in the wages of the labourer, an improvement in the circumstances of the people. This is a very erroneous view of the internal situation of France! In the cities you hear at every step lamentations on the want of employment, at the same time that you are hearing complaints of the continual increase in the wages of labour. The number of the poor who are supported by what are called the *officers of beneficence*, or assisted with Rumford soups, increase with the rise of wages; even the capital itself, peculiar as are its advantages, is obliged to support, out of a population of 700,000, or 750,000 souls, 100,000 poor; yet the price of labour in Paris has, during the revolution and the war, nearly doubled. This paradox is explained when we see that the conscription has carried the failure in the number of hands beyond the proportion of the failure in the demand for labour produced by that revolution and that war. The disastrous effects of the conscription are visible, above all, when the state of agriculture is examined. The decline of agriculture stares the observer in the face when he compares the appearance of the country at present with the appearance of its former productiveness, and even each year with that which preceded it. The revolution, as is well known, has multiplied the number of little proprietors by the division of the estates which formerly belonged to corporations or to the privileged classes, and were sold as national domains. These small proprietors have in a peculiar manner suffered by the conscription. Each of them, desirous of founding his prosperity on the soil which had become his patrimony, comprehended the labours of his son in the calculation of the capital with which he hoped to make

good the cultivation of his land. In every country the son of the husbandman is the principal article of his wealth. But all these calculations and the just hopes which he founded upon them are cruelly destroyed. Every year a demand is made upon him for one of his sons. The loss to the father and to the cultivation of the whole country is incalculable; not only are the crops of the husbandman abridged, but he is obliged to contract debts to supply the void created in his capital, for which the state obliges him to pay such high interest; no loans can supply the place of the son; no mercenary labour is equally valuable with his; the new proprietor becomes involved in inextricable difficulties; and an immense mass of misery is created year after year over the whole surface of France."

A more diffuse and vehement complaint could not have been urged by a common journalist, yet, when it is examined it appears altogether illusory, and is applicable to war itself in any form; and not to this mode of raising a military force more than to any other. If these pathetic strains were directed generally against the military ambition, that wades after ranks and ribbons, through the entrails and blood of the youth of all countries, they would be strictly appropriate; but applied to the conscription they are fallacious. The whole of the objections to this mode of recruiting the army, that have been urged from its first institution, until the present time, class themselves under three heads, comprehending its injustice, its cruelty, and its effects upon the political state of the country in a statistical point of view.

Now in considering this latter branch of the lamentation, divested of the oratory of the gazette writers, the simple amount of it is, that from 60,000 to 200,000 youths in the vigour of life, out of the immense population of France, have been annually

withdrawn from active labour, to be employed in the army; can any declaimer seriously believe that either the population, the agriculture, or manufactories of France, have suffered more by that number having been taken in the form of the conscription, than if they had been called out by the Austrian, the Russian, the Prussian, the British, or even by the old French mode of raising recruits?

He cannot, and therefore his complaint ought to be directed against war generally, and against Buonaparté, especially for having unnecessarily carried it on; but then the argument should have been sustained upon the ground of the inhumanity of shedding the blood of our fellow creatures, and not by such reasoning as we have seen adduced. A person must be in a state of dotage, before he can believe that the annual waste of 200,000 men, could produce the dilapidation in France attributed to the conscription. When people talk of husbandry or handicrafts, suffering by the men being withdrawn, they would do well to ask themselves whether there was any deficiency of players, or perruquiers, or valets, or waiters, or of any other class of those important personages; and they would find, that the eight theatres of Paris, and the theatres of all the provinces, found plenty of performers for the stage, and of beaux for their seats, from *Paradis jusqu'au parterre*, notwithstanding this outcry about the scarcity of men.

We will admit all that may be said of the impolicy and wickedness of political measures, that can only succeed in proportion, as they occasion a waste of human life, supposing those censures to be applied to all such measures, and to every state alike. It must however be observed, that the complaint of the anti-conscriptionists, solves itself into a mere balance of the advantages and disadvantages, that France has suffered under this system; and they have chosen to consider only one side of

the question. Those who affirm, as Mr. Faber has done, that " the disasterous effects of the conscription are visible in the decline of agriculture," should withhold their assertion just long enough to allow themselves time to calculate what portion of the conscription was drawn from persons engaged in agriculture, or any other useful employment. When it is tragically represented, that one third of the prefects, mayors, and municipal councils, have their sons among the conscripts, surely it is not intended to say, that these youths would have followed the plough, if they had not been called to the army: and if useful occupations only suffer in proportion as they are deprived of the hands *employed* in them ; it will be found that fewer persons of that description are taken by this system, than by any other. All that has been said upon this subject is false, and so is the pretended diminution in the population ; for if there has been a waste of life by the war, there has also been a saving from the particular condition in which France has been placed. The ocean and the colonies have not swallowed up the numbers that would have been consigned to them, if France had been under another regime. If the declaimers will compare the annual consumption of the marine and the colonies with that of the conscription, they will find that they have wholly mistaken the ground of their own complaints.

Upon the point of cruelty, it would be idle to spend a word ; nobody will pretend that it is more cruel to waste the blood of the sons of prefects and mayors, than those of peasants and artizans. The real evil then is the injustice of the war, and the author of it would have been equally censurable, if his projects had been carried on by any other means. The other point, its injustice, is more important, and deserves a direct contradiction. It is not the injustice, but the justice of the conscription that has excited the clamour, and the

wisdom of the system is evinced by its inherent power of thwarting the projects of despotism, whenever it may attempt to carry on unjust and unnecessary wars. The ambition of a tyrant, has a certain limit, where every family under his rule must equally feel the scourge. It is only when despots are artful enough to purchase the compliance of the great, by throwing the weight of sufferings upon the poor and helpless, that they can assume the attitude of invaders in defiance of the public. It is the nature of the conscription to excite universal enquiry, and the cause must be good to which a people possessing any voice or power in a state, will cheerfully sacrifice the flower of their families, for a length of time. We laud the conscription for its equitable principle, which subjects all who have an interest in war to its inconveniences, equally with the rest of a nation. We will not censure Buonaparté with its consequences, because we do not allow him the credit of having originated it. He has incurred a degree of odium on account of his wars, which no other tyrant ever incurred, however infamous were the means by which they recruited their armies; and he would have escaped all this odium if he had adopted another system, however *unjust*, *cruel*, or *depopulating* it might have been, provided he had spared the children of the rich, and only taken those of the poor.

CHAPTER XX.

Proceedings in the Peninsula subsequent to the Retreat of Sir John Moore.—Seizure and Abandonment of Oporto by the French.—Battle of Talavera.—Sir Arthur Wellesley elevated to the Peerage.

AS the Emperor was now free to direct his undivided attention to the affairs of the Peninsula, it is necessary that we should take a retrospect of the operations of the belligerent forces in Spain and Portugal, where, during the campaign the struggle had been furiously maintained by the Imperial legions, notwithstanding the immense armies that France had been obliged to transport to the banks of the Danube.

We have already seen that when the British main army was expelled from Corunna, the Spaniards and Portuguese resolved to exert what powers they could for the annoyance of the enemy. In fact they were stimulated in their exertions by the circumstance of a large British force continuing in possession of Portugal to keep the Imperialists at bay.

A liberal sprinkling of British officers received commands in the Portuguee army, and Sir W. Beresford was appointed by the House of Braganza to the chief command, with the rank of Field Marshal.

The French Marshals Soult, Ney, Augereau, and Victor, with Kellerman, Sebastiani, and other generals of the first rate talents, were co-operating during most of the spring in a combined movement, the object of which was to facilitate the possession of Oporto, Lisbon, and Seville, before re-

inforcements could be sent out from England.—Meanwhile the Supreme Junta of Spain and the Regency of Portugal displayed a considerable share of coolness and intrepedity. As Soult advanced towards the Minho, he endeavoured to win over the Portuguese by soothing Proclamations, but these only served to call forth the most reproachful replies in the Lisbon Gazette, and to afford opportunities for reiterating the charges of dissimulation and treachery, with which his government had been previously so largley debited.

In Spain too, the war of proclamations formed rather a copious appendix to that of arms; yet the Junta found time to employ itself upon a variety of useful objects, especially in concluding a formal Treaty of Peace with England, and in laying the basis for a free and representative Government. Marquis Wellesley, the British Ambassador to the Junta, negociated various arrangements for the intercourse of the combined troops, and assisted by his councils to demonstrate the necessity of assembling the General Cortes, as the surest means of calling forth all the energies of the country. Whilst the French army in the West was so far successful as to get possession of Oporto, those of the East were obliged to retire from both Figueras and Valencia.

Early in May a large British force, which had been dispatched from England, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, was ready to depart from Lisbon to meet the enemy, whilst the armies of Romana and of Beresford were to impede him in his retreat. Notwithstanding the lofty proclamations of the French, they were actually suffering two of the greatest calamities that warriors can encounter, want of provisions and want of intelligence: in the absence of the latter they could not persuade themselves that the British Government would send a new force over until it was actually ready to beat up their quarters;

and in search of the former they were obliged to spread themselves over a large surface, relying more upon the remissness of their antagonists, than upon their own means. There is great reason to believe, that if the Spanish commanders had anticipated the movements of the English general, so far as to have secured the pass of Salamonde, Soult and his army must have been cut off.

On the approach of the British army, Oporto was abandoned, and the retreat was continued with the utmost precipitation from the 11th until the 17th of May, when Sir Arthur discontinued the pursuit and established his head-quarters at *Monte Alegre*. "Here" says he, "I found that the enemy had taken a road through the mountains towards Orense, by which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for me to overtake him. He commenced this retreat by destroying a great proportion of his guns and ammunition: he afterwards destroyed the remainder of both, and a great proportion of his baggage, and kept nothing except what the soldiers or a few mules could carry. He has left behind him sick and wounded; and the road from Penafiel to Monte Alegre is strewed with the carcases of horses and mules, and French soldiers, who were put to death by the peasantry before our advanced guard could save them. This last circumstance is the natural effect of the warfare which the enemy have carried on in this country. Their soldiers have plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure; and I have seen many persons hanging in the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no reason that I could learn, excepting that they have not been friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country; and the route of their column on their retreat could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire. We have taken about 500 prisoners: upon the whole, the enemy has not lost less than a fourth of his army, and all his artillery

and equipments, since we attacked him upon the Vouga.—No measure which I could take was omitted to intercept the enemy's retreat. It is obvious, however, that if an army throws away all its cannon, equipments, and baggage, and every thing which can strengthen it, and can enable it to act together as a body, and abandon all those who are entitled to its protection, but add to its weight and impede its progress, it must be able to march by roads through which it cannot be followed with any prospect of being overtaken by an army which has not made the same sacrifices. It is impossible to say too much of the exertions of the troops. The rain was constant, and the roads almost impracticable: but they have persevered in the pursuit to the last, and were generally on their march from day-light in the morning till dark. The brigade of guards were at the head of the column, and set a laudable example; and in an affair with the enemy's rear guard on the evening of the 16th, they conducted themselves remarkable well."

The French generals were so conscious of their desperate situation at that particular period, that their principal reliance seemed to be placed upon the arts with which they could conceal their situation from their own armies. The Allies were obliged to confide in the pen, as well as the sword; and therefore before the commencement of offensive operations, Marshal Beresford had endeavoured to unmask the artifices of the generals, by addressing the following Proclamation to the French troops:

PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS Marshal Soult (who styles himself Governor of Portugal) although he is perfectly aware of the critical situation in which he has placed himself, but which he endeavours to conceal from the unfortunate troops whom he sacrifices to the boundless ambition of a tyrant, circulates false reports and intelligence of the near arrival of Buonaparté, at the head of a

French army of 80,000 men, in order to deceive the public with regard to the dangers by which he is threatened. Marshal Beresford, in order to undeceive the people of the North of Portugal, and the French army, and convince them of the falsehood of the above reports, thinks it right to publish the following intercepted letter, written to Marshal Soult by General Kellerman, who says that he commands the French force in Upper Spain. When it is ascertained that a general publishes falsehoods in one case, his army and the public at large will know how to appreciate his accounts on other occasions. Marshal Soult is perfectly aware of the danger of his situation, but endeavours to conceal them from his troops; and the couriers, of whose arrival he boasts, did probably arrive from some part of the position of his corps, two or three leagues distant. They could not at least come either from France or Spain, his communication with these countries being entirely intercepted.

LETTER *from* GENERAL KELLERMAN.

dated, Valladolid, March 31, 1809.

SIR,

"HIS Imperial Majesty having ordered the Duke of Istria to join him, has entrusted me with the command of the French forces in Upper Spain. I received the letters which you wrote him from Berin. I sent copies thereof to his Imperial Majesty, and the Prince of Neufchatel, and transmitted the letter which was addressed to the duke, to his highness. Marshal Bessieres set out for Germany on the 16th instant, and the Imperial Guard, with every person belonging to the Imperial household. On the 20th war against Austria was declared; but it is not yet known whether the Emperor will proceed to the Inner Tagliamenta. My position in Spain is rather critical; but I occupy the plain country with a considerable body of horse, although I am destitute of infantry. I am watching the movements of the army of Asturias, and of the troops of Romana, who obstructs our communication with the provinces they occupy. I am not able to do what I could wish, but send strong reconnoitering parties to Braganza and Miranda, and do all I can to keep the people between this place and Madrid in order, whom I know to be disaffected. Your brother has arrived here, but I do not see how he will be able to rejoin as he wishes. The war in Germany, produced by the intrigues and gold of England, cannot but be attended with the most dreadful consequences for us, and must for the present render our situation extremely critical. You cannot expect any reinforcements, unless the Duke of Elchingen should be able to send you some, of which I cannot judge, as I have not the least communication with him; and all Gallicia is in a

Marshal General Beresford

state of insurrection. I send you this letter by a person in whom I place much confidence, and who is worthy of yours, &c. (Signed) KELLERMAN.

P. S. Turkey has made peace with England; there are insurrections in every part of Germany."

"Soldiers, who compose the French army, such are the reports which your Commanders spreads among you, and such is the true intelligence which the French Generals endeavour to conceal from the people, who are so unfortunate as to be subjected to their power.

(Signed) W. C. BERESFORD,
Marshal and Commander in Chief.

Head Quarters, Tomas, the 20th of April, 1809."

The French Ministry were so much alarmed by the credit, that the British statements acquired, sanctioned as they were by the fact of their armies retreating towards Madrid, that they thought proper to enter into an official detail of the campaign; and to attempt to restore confidence, by endeavouring to prove that they were merely drawing the Allies within the vortex of their power.

BULLETIN.

Paris, June 22.

"ALEX. Girardin, Colonel of the 8th regt. of dragoons, and M. Brun, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Dalmatia, have passed through this city on their way to the head-quarters of his Imperial Majesty in Austria, with dispatches from their excellencies the Dukes of Dalmatia and Elchingen, copies of which have been delivered to the war minister. We now shall anticipate the details which will be given out of the dispatches forwarded to the Emperor, by stating all the particulars respecting the second corps of the army of Spain since the month of January. They have been so misrepresented, as well in France as in Spain, by relations taken from English papers, and by erroneous rumours, to which the interruption in the communication between the various corps of the army had given birth, that it becomes necessary to relate them in the order which the date naturally points out. After the embarkation of the English at Corunna, Jan. 17th, his excellency the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia marched towards Portugal through Santiago and Vigo. The difficulties which he experienced in endeavouring to cross the Minho so near its junction with the sea, compelled him to ascend its banks as far as Orense, where he arrived the 5th of March, and from thence

began his operations. The 6th of March he crossed the bridge over the Minho, at Orense, and on his way to Chaves met with Romana's army, which he defeated at Iuzo, Allaritz, and Osogne, near Monterey, destroying the rear-guard, consisting of 3,000 men, taking 2,000 prisoners and some standards. The enemy then retreated in the greatest disorder to the vale of Oez. The 13th of March, the Duke of Dalmatia appeared before Chaves, on the frontier of Portugal, and invested this place, which capitulated three days after. Its garrison, composed of several thousand peasants and some militia, were sent back to their habitations. The 16th March, his excellency marched against Braga, where the army of the Portuguese insurgents had taken a position. The badness of the roads delayed the arrival of the artillery until the 19th, when the enemy were attacked. Their force was estimated at 20,000 men, which were entirely overthrown. They lost 6,000 and all their artillery, and retreated upon Oporto. The 24th, the second corps arrived before Oporto, where all the Portuguese northern armies were collected in an intrenched camp flanked with redoubts, and defended by a numerous artillery. Two days were spent in skirmishes, and the French troops found in the redoubts, of which they took possession, a shelter from the cannon of the enemy. The 29th, the Duke of Dalmatia fought a battle as glorious as memorable, in which the French displayed their usual enthusiastic valour. Upwards of 10,000 Portuguese were killed or taken, and the enemy lost not only the artillery planted on their intrenchments, but their field pieces. This day put the second corps of the army in possession of more than 200 pieces of cannon. From the 30th of March to May 10, the 2nd corps was employed in establishing in that part of a country not wholly conquered, his communication with the 6th corps that remained in Gallicia; large detachments were sent to Guimaraens and Valencia, in order to bring the magazines which had been left at Tuy, and to scour the country. General Loison, whose death the English had falsely published, was detached with the same intent against Amarante, Villa Real, and the adjacent country, with 2,500 infantry, and 600 horse. The 10th of May, the vanguard of the duke's army was on the Vouga. It was attacked by several thousands of foot, 1,500 horse, and 6 pieces of cannon, which formed a part of General Wellesley's army, lately landed in Portugal. The vangard retreated behind Feyra, and on the 11th re-crossed the Douro, with the division of General Mermet. The increase of the British force in Portugal, and that of the Portuguese insurgents, through the influence of British gold, had as early as the 10th, determined the Duke of Dalmatia to effect his retreat through Amarante, Villa Real, and Braganza, ascending the right bank of the Douro. But a numerous corps of English and Portuguese having compelled

General Loison to evacuate Amarante, the duke found it necessary to pass through the defiles of Salamonde, and in order to gain two marches on the enemy, to sacrifice a few pieces of cannon and their caissons, which he ordered to be destroyed, and the remains which could prove of no use to the English. The latter not having been able to gain any advantage on the second corps during the retreat, the only action which took place was with our rear-guard at Oporto, the English having found means to convey on the right bank of the Minho about 1,000 infantry and 50 horse, they have swelled this trifling engagement into a battle, the pompous relation of which (in no point of view a military one) has had no other end than to deceive the people of London, and perhaps, the ministers themselves, in order to repay them for the immense sums of money which this expedition must have cost the British treasury. On the 19th of May, the Duke of Dalmatia was at Allaritz: the 20th he crossed the Minho at Orense; and the 23d formed a communication with the Duke of Elchingen himself and the corps under his command. The arrival of the Duke of Dalmatia's army into Gallicia has been useful under every point of view. It has dispersed bands of armed peasants, who profiting by the movements of the Duke of Elchingen against Oviedo, had endeavoured to take possession of Santiago and Lugo, assisted by the few English troops who still occupy Vigo. Such was the state of things in Gallicia and on the banks of the Minho, during the first days of June, and the English seemed little inclined to try their courage with the 2d and 7th corps after their junction."

The English did get possession of Ferrol, Corrunna, &c. and by annoying the whole coast from Cape Finisterre to the Gulph of Bayonne, they rendered it impossible for the enemy to supply his wants by means of the sea-ports, and obliged him to retire to a distance from the Portuguese frontiers, in order to draw his supplies from the interior of Spain.

Whatever hesitation the French might discover in the proceeding of the English General, was not the result of want of courage, but arose out of the necessity which he began to feel of so adapting and modelling his plans, as to bring him into co-operation with those of the Spanish generals, who were least likely to be rendered untractable by the prejudices and superstitions of their nation.

Not having a general command, he found himself obliged to humour and defer to minds stultified and besotted: a little time was therefore profitably thrown away in endeavouring to assort and select such officers as might at least be manageable. At length it was resolved to leave the Marquis Romana on the frontiers of Leon and Estramadura, and to push on towards Madrid in conjunction with the army of General Cuesta; augmented by the different Spanish corps scattered throughout those Provinces, and mustered on the Alberche preparatory to a grand onset, which it was supposed would have been decisive to the fate of Spain. The conflict commenced in the plains of Talavera, and as it was amongst the most glorious in its issue, besides comprising the largest force that had ever been fought by the British on the Continent; it deserves to be recorded in the gallant commander's own words,

Dispatch from Lieutenant General the Right Honourable SIR ARTHEUR WELLESLEY, *to* LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Talavera, 29th July, 1809.

MY LORD

"GENERAL Cuesta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberche on the morning of the 24th as far as Santa Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos. For the reasons stated to your lordship in my dispatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavelry across the Alberche to Casalegos, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between General Cuesta and me, and with Sir R. Wilson's corps at Escalona. It appears that General Venegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Damiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces in this part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2,000 men in that place. His united army thus consisted of the corps of Marshal Victor, of that of General Sebastiani, and of 7 or 8,000 men, the guards of Joseph Buonaparté and the garrison of Madrid, and it was commanded by Joseph Buonaparté, aided by Marshals Jourdan

Marshal Duke Wellington.

and Victor, and General Sebastiani. On the 26th General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos, and obliged to fall back, and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberche, General Sherbrooke continuing at Casalegos, and the enemy at Santa Olalla. It was then obvious, that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera, and General Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered General Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving General M'Kenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberche, which covered our left flank. The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was in echellon and in second line a division of infantry under the orders of Major-General Hill. There was a valley between this height, and a range of mountains still further on the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared two distant to have any influence upon the expected action. The right, consisting of Spanish troops extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche, was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in a similar manner; the town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks, on the roads which led from the town and the right, to the left of our position.—In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had commenced to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear. Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by General Cottons brigade of dragoons, and some Spanish cavalry. At about two o'clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie's division. The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops consisting of General Mackenzie's and Colonel Donkin's brigades, and General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and supported by General Payne with the other four regiments of cavalry, in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the 2d battalion 87th regiment, and 2d battalion 31st regiment, in the wood.—Upon this occasion, the steadiness

and discipline of the 45th regiment, and the 5th battalion 60th regiment, were conspicuous, and I had particular reasons for being satisfied with the manner in which Major-General Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard. As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in larger numbers on the right of the Alberche, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack on the combined army.—General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in the rear of the Guards, colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation further upon the left, in the rear of the King's German Legion.

The enemy immediately commenced his attack in the dusk of the evening by a cannonade upon the left of our position; and by an attempt, with his cavalry, to overthrow the Spanish infantry posted, as I have before stated, on the right: this attempt failed entirely. Early in the night he pushed a division along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by General Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession, but Major-General Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it.—This attack was repeated in the night, but failed, and again at day-light in the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by Major-General Hill. Major-General Hill has reported to me in a particular manner the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment in these different affairs, as well as that of Major-General Tilson and Brigadier-General Stewart.—We have lost many brave officers and soldiers in the defence of this important point in our possession; among others I cannot avoid to mention Brigade-Major Fordyce, and Brigade-Major Gardner; and Major-General Hill was himself wounded, but, I am happy to say, but slightly. The defeat of this attempt was followed about noon by a general attack with the enemy's whole force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army.—In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on our left by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d' Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry.—The enemy then placed light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry under Lieutenant-General De Bassecourt.—The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley with a view to attack the height occupied by Major-General Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the 1st German light dragoons and 23rd dragoons, under the command of General Anson, directed by Lieutenant-General Payne, and supported by General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23rd dragoons suffered considerable loss, the

charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy's plan. At the same time he directed an attack upon Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell's position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British. This attack was most successfully repulsed by Brigadier-General Campbell, supported by the King's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two battalions of Spanish infantry; and Brigadier-General Campbell took the enemy's cannon. The Brigadier-General mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the 2nd battalion 7th, and of the 2nd battalion 53rd regiments, and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended. An attack was also made at the same time upon Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's division, which was on the left and centre of the 1st line of the British army. This attack was most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets, by the whole division, but the brigade of Guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy's battery, and of their retiring columns; and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the 2nd line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, which I had moved from the centre, and of the 1st battalion 48th regiment. I had moved this regiment from its original position on the heights, as soon as I observed the advance of the Guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke's division. Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy's troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Alberche, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and some prisoners.—Your Lordship will observe by the inclosed return the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers, in this long and hard-fought action, with more than double our number: that of the enemy has been much greater. I am informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed, and indeed the battalions that retreated were much reduced in numbers: by all accounts their loss is ten thousand men. Generals Lapisse and Morlot are killed; Generals Sebastiani and Boulet wounded.—I have particularly to lament Major-General Mackenzie, who had distinguished himself on the 27th; and of Brigadier-General Langworth, of the King's German Legion; and of Brigade-Major Beckett, of the Guards.—Your Lordship will observe, that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops. The Spanish Commander-in-Chief, his officers and troops, manifested every disposition

to render us assistance, and those of them which were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement to the left of the enemy, while he was engaged with us. I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops.—I am much indebted to Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets: also to Lieutenant-General Payne and the cavalry, particularly General Anson's brigade, to Major-Generals Hill and Tilson, Brigadier-Generals Alexander Cambpell, Edward Stewart, and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their commands respectively, particularly the 29th regiment, commanded by Colonel White; the 1st battalion 48th, commanded by Colonel Donnellan, afterwards when that officer was wounded, by Major Middlemore; the 2nd battalion 7rh, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Wm. Myers; the 2nd battalion 53rd, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham; the 97th, commanded by Colonel Lyon; the 1st battalion of detachments, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury, and the 2nd battalion 31st, commanded by Major Watson, and of the 45th, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Guard, and 5th battalion 60th, commanded by Major Davy, on the 27th.—The advance of the brigade of Guards was most gallantly conducted by Brigadier-General Campbell, and when necessary, that brigade retired, and formed again in the best order. The artillery, under Brigadier-General Howorth, was also, throughout these days, of the greatest service, and I had every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the chief engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, the Adjutant-General; Brigadier-General the Honourable C. Stewart, and the Quarter-Master-General Colonel Murray, and the officer of those departments respectively, and from Colonel Bathurst and the officers of my personal staff: I also received much assistance from Colonel O'Lawlor, of the Spanish service; and from Brigadier-General Whittingham, who was wounded when bringing up the two Spanish battalions to the assistance of Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell.—I send this by Captain Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who will give your Lordship any further information, and whom I beg leave to recommend.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The killed and wounded of the British amounted to near 5,000, whilst the Spaniards scarcely suffered any loss. The enemy retired from the field, but with a force unbroken; Sir Arthur Wellesley

was left to gather his laurel, but could hardly find time to bind it on his brow before he was obliged to seek his own safety in retreat, without waiting even to carry off his sick and wounded. The desire of speaking civilly of Allies excluded any complaint appearing in a public document, but he could not shut his eyes to the heart-rending proofs of Spanish inertness, which had left the English army to bear the entire brunt of the action, with an army equal in numbers, and near enough to mark all the inflections and evolutions of the battle.

General Cuesta, in his report to the Spanish Government, bestowed the most unqualified praises on the British army and its commanders, an homage which that Government was equally ready to pay, and which they enhanced immeasurably by removing from his command a general who evinced so much more aptitude at bestowing encomiums, than in dividing them. Cuesta was recalled, and Wellesley retired to Elvas, taunted by the vulgar of every country, with having rashly tempted danger, and with owing more to the indulgence of his enemy than to his own foresight. In defiance of appearances, however, the Cabinet of St. James's knew how to estimate the talents that had been exerted in its service, and the Commander-in-Chief was elevated to the dignity of the Peerage, with the utmost promptitude, by the title of Viscount Wellington, of Talevera and of Wellington—Baron Wellesley of the Douro.

Perhaps the whole course of time has never produced an occasion so calculated to demonstrate the expansive power and immeasurable grasp of the human mind, as the situation in which the great commander was at that time placed. He found himself at the apparent close of a Revolution, more extensive in its influence, and more firmly fixed than any that ever agitated the affairs of the world. He had seen the whole of his party

prostrated after a series of efforts, every one of which would have ensured success at any former period, and he beheld himself shut up within a nook, surrounded on three sides by all the elements of desolation and terror, whilst the fourth might have been regarded as the boundary of despair, but for a few occasional breaks that might be discovered by the light of an intermittant gleam of hope. Placed in the very bosom, as it were of chaos; Wellington saw that he had to create a world anew—he saw that he had the anxiety of his friends as well as the hostility of his enemies to subdue, and that in order to attain his object, he would not only have to conquer men, but to acquire a habit of being uncontroled by time itself. To talk of the *genius* of Wellington would be tame and languid—it was *virtue* that gave the impetus to his sword. Amidst his other conquest, it was necessary that he should achieve one more important than all,—the victory over himself. It was for him to command pride and impatience, to remain unruffled when ignorance and impetuosity might attack him; and he was to learn the proper mixture of contempt and respect that was due to the opinions of others, in order that he might be led by no other guides than his own forbearance and judgment. The successive failures of all the great men of the age environed him with lessons of instruction, equal to the experience of the longest life, and as he had now placed himself in an unassailable position, we must leave him there until the course of our History permits us to shew, by what means he put himself into a condition to resume the offensive.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Manifesto for assembling the Cortes of Spain.—Reflections incidental to that Measure.

HOWEVER the affairs of Spain were involved in the general issue of European events, it was now evident that its internal concerns were of so peculiar a nature, that a sinister policy would be its decided characteristic during the remainder of the struggle. Whilst a sentiment of resentment against the tyrant who had invaded their territory, united all hearts in devotion to the prince who had been the victim of his treachery; it was clear that the worshippers of Ferdinand, like the devotees of every other class, offered up their adoration upon very different grounds.

The nobility and clergy were influenced by sympathy with ignorance and bigotry, which rendered him, in their view, a prince especially fitted to rule; for, although they could not help regarding his usurpation of his father's throne as having dangerously shaken their own mischievous privileges, they considered that they should be better able to resist the knowledge and information of the age, by placing the nation under the influence of his imbecile mind, than if it were under either the Prince of Peace, or Joseph Buonaparté—both of whom were men of superior knowledge.

The great mass, habitually miserable, and constantly indulging the vague expectation of some sort of change, had their eyes directed toward him as the harbinger of their hopes; but to have indulged those hopes, would have been as fatal to

the influential classes as to have openly opposed them.

Whilst the most numerous, and the most powerful bodies of the state were neutralized by policy and ignorance, there were scattered throughout the country a few honourable and enlightened individuals of all classes, who saw that the only effectual way to serve both king and country, would be to correct such vices, and effect such changes, as might tend to place the institutions of Spain in a state of approximation towards the improved condition of other nations of Europe. These beheld in Ferdinand the principal figure, in opposition to the blind despotism of the old court, and without considering that that opposition arose out of his personal hatred to a better man than any one of his family, they gave him credit for a disposition to reform. Zeal rendered this class industrious, and whether they were in the juntas, or in private circles, they urged the necessity of amelioration.

Scarcely any objection was urged to the good principles propagated by these virtuous individuals, yet they made no visible progress. In fact, the Nation, without whose will it was impossible to proceed far in improvement, formed an immoveable mass of bigotry, which, whilst it shrunk from discussion, opposed an inert resistance, more effectual than the most malignant activity.

The English government would have rendered an inexpressible service to mankind, by fixing the future destinies of Spain, if it had candidly declared itself, at this time, in favour of an enlightened constitution; for although the friends of reform relied upon the co-operation of the English, in support of their ameliorations, and the friends of despotism were neutralized by a similar opinion, yet these latter evinced their enmity by stigmatizing the reformers with the nick-name of *Liberals*, and by overwhelming them with silent majorities.

Whatever doubts might hang over the inclina-

tions of the British government, for want of an open avowal, could not be removed by any conclusion to be drawn from the conduct of the English army in Spain. It is true, that in all its proclamations, and in all the public proceedings of the officers, the most bitter invectives were uttered against despotism, but then it was against despotism in the hands of Buonaparté. As far as expressions of individual feeling went, or a far as the practical conduct of the army could be observed, nothing could evince a stronger attachment, or resemblance to tyranny. No man could be more hostile to a political system, bearing any relationship to the rights of men; and persons with opportunity could easily discern that, in reality, the British had no real objection to despotism, provided it were in the hands of the royal driveller, who had delivered himself to his brother despot in France.

Difficult as it would have been, under any circumstances, for the Liberals to have accomplished any of their measures, that difficulty was greatly increased in this instance, by reason of the principal part of the wise and good men of Spain having joined the standard of Joseph Buonaparté, from a conviction that the Bourbons were incorrigible, and that Joseph, who was himself a good man, would not only be himself a good sovereign, but would patronize good men, and promote the general happiness in Spain. Like the Liberals, they had a good end in view for their country, although they could not help regretting the means by which it seemed likely to be brought about.

It was an unlucky contingent for the Liberals, that they could seldom urge their principles without adopting the same line of argument that the partizans of Joseph had recourse to. The distinction between them was so trifling, that what it wanted in reality, the Liberals endeavoured to supply with invective; but, even in that, the advantage they gained was hardly worth having, for when they urged the profligacy of Joseph's

usurpation, it was retorted upon them, that their beloved Ferdinand had evinced greater profligacy by his rebellion, and the usurpation of his father's throne.

The partizans of France united in sentiment with the Liberals, that it was necessary to free their country from the trammels of superstition and arbitrary power; and the English agreed with them, as to the necessity of straining every nerve to deliver it from the power of the invader. These were, however, mere abortive advantages; for the body of the population would not co-operate in the attainment of either object—they were unwilling to receive reform from the French, or deliverance from the English—to the latter they were, indeed, of the two, the most adverse; because they regarded the English as both political and religious heretics, towards whom it would be an act of profaneness even to acknowledge an obligation.

The conflict between philosophy and superstition formed a sort of underplot, which greatly impeded the preparations for the war, and caused many of its expeditions to evaporate in mere bustle and boasting. Both the English and the Liberals were desirous of putting an end to this state of things; and as it was thought that assembling the general Cortes of the kingdom would arouse the military energies of people, as well as inspire them with a love of freedom, and a due sense of their native rights, the English gave a political countenance to a measure, in which they would not otherwise have felt any sort of interest. Thus the supreme governing junta, from a conviction of its own inability to proceed any further, was obliged to summon the representatives of the nation, and it was expected that the following appeal to the people would awaken the dormant spirit of Spain.

MANIFESTO

for calling the GENERAL CORTES, *of the* SPANISH MONARCHY, *&c.*

"SPANIARDS! By a combination of events as singular as fortunate, it as seemed good to Providence, that in this terrible crisis you shall not advance a step towards independence without likewise advancing one towards liberty. A foolish and feeble tyranny, in order to rivet your fetters and aggravate your chains, prepared the way for French despotism, which, with the terrible apparatus of its arms and victories, endeavoured to subject you to a yoke of iron. It at first exhibited itself, like every new tyranny, under a flattering form, and its political impostors presumed they should gain your favour by promising you reforms in the Administration, and announcing, in a constitution framed at their pleasure, the empire of the laws. —A barbarous and absurd contradiction, worthy certainly of their insolence. Would they have us believe that the moral edifice of the liberty and fortune of a nation can be securely founded on usurpation, iniquity, and treachery? But the Spanish people, who were the first of modern nations to recognize to the true principles of the social equilibrium, that people who enjoyed before any other the prerogatives and advantages of a civil liberty, and knew to oppose to arbitrary power the eternal barrier directed by justice, will borrow from no other nation maxims of prudence and political precaution: and tell those impudent legislators, that they will not acknowledge as laws the artifices of intriguers, nor the mandates of tyrants. Animated by this generous instinct, and inflamed with the indignation excited by the perfidy with which you were invaded, you ran to arms, without fearing the terrible vicissitudes of so unequal a combat, and fortune, subdued by your enthusiasm, rendered you homage, and bestowed on you victory in reward for your valour. The immediate effect of these first advantages was the re-composition of the State, at that time divided into so many factions as provinces. Our enemies thought that they had sown among us the deadly germ of anarchy, and did not advert that Spanish judgment and circumspection were always superior to French machiavelism. Without dispute, without violence, a Supreme Authority was established; and the people after having astonished the world, with the spectacle of their sublime exaltation and their victories, filled it with admiration and respect by their moderation and discretion.

The Central Junta was installed, and its first care was to announce to you, that if the expulsion of the enemy was the first object of its attention, the inferior and permanent felicity of the State was the principle in importance: to leave it plunged into the flood of abuses, prepared for its own ruin by arbitrary

power, would have been in the eyes of our present Government, a crime as enormous as to deliver you into the hands of Buonaparté; therefore, when the turbulence of war permitted, it caused to resound in your ears the name of your Cortes, which to us have ever been the bulwark of civil liberty, and the throne of national Majesty, a name heretofore pronounced with mystery by the learned, with distrust by politicians, and with horror by tyrants, but which henceforth signify in Spain the indestructible base of the monarchy, the most secure supports of the rights of Ferdinand VII. and of his family, a right for the people, and the Government an obligation.

That moral resistance, as general as sublime, which has reduced our enemies to confusion and despair in the midst of their victories, must not receive less reward. Those battles which are lost, those armies which are destroyed, not without producing new battles, creating new armies, and again displaying the standard of loyalty on the ashes and ruins which the enemies abandon: those soldiers who, dispersed in one action, return to offer themselves for another; that populace which despoiled of almost all they possessed returned to their homes to share the wretched remains of their property with the defenders of their country; that concert of lamentable and despairing groans and patriotic songs; that struggle, in fine, of ferocity and barbarity on the one hand, and of resistance and invincible constancy on the other, present a whole as terrible as magnificent, which Europe contemplates with astonishment, and which history will one day record in letters of gold for the admiration and example of posterity. A people so magnanimous and generous ought only to be governed by laws which are truly such, and which shall bear the great character of public consent and common utility—a character which they can only receive by emanating from the august assembly which has been announced to you. The Junta had proposed that it should be held during the whole of the ensuing year, or sooner, if circumstances should permit. But in the time which has intervened since this resolution, a variety of public events have agitated the minds of the people, and the difference of opinions relative to the organization of the Government, and the re-establishment of our fundamental laws, has recalled the attention of the Junta to these important objects with which it has latterly been profoundly occupied. It has been recommended on the one hand, that the present Government should be converted into a Regency of three or five persons: and this opinion has been represented as supported by one of our ancient laws, applicable to our present situation. But the situation in which the kingdom was, when the French threw off the mask of friendship, to execute their treacherous usurpation, is singular in our history, and cannot have been forseen in our institutions. Neither the infancy, nor the insanity, nor even the captivity of the

Prince, in the usual way in which these evils occur, can be compared with our present state, and the deplorable situation to which it as reduced us. A political position entirely new requires political forms and principles likewise entirely new. To expel the French, to restore to his liberty and his throne our adored King, and to establish solid and permanent bases of good government, are the maxims which gave the impulse to our Revolution, are those which support and direct it; and that Government will be the best which shall most promote and fulfil these three wishes of the Spanish Nation. Does the Regency of which that Law speaks promise us this security? What inconveniencies, what dangers, how many divisions, how many parties, how many ambitious ptetensions, within and without the kingdom; how much, and how just, discontent in our Americas, now called to have a share in the present Government? What would become of our Cortes, our liberty, the cheering prospects of future welfare and glory which now present themselves? What would become of the object most valuable and dear to the Spanish Nation—the preservation of the Rights of Ferdinand? The advocates for this Institution ought to shudder at the immense danger to which they exposed themselves, and to bear in mind, that by it they afforded to the Tyrant a new opportunity of buying and selling them. Let us bow with reverence to the venerable antiquity of the Law; but let us profit by the experience of ages. Let us open our annals and trace the history of our Regencies. What shall we find?—a picture equally melancholy and frightful, of desolation, of civil war, of rapine, and of human depravity, in unfortunate Castile.

Doubtless, in great states, power is more beneficially exercised by few than by many. Secrecy in deliberation, unity in concert, activity in measures, and celerity in execution, are indispensable requisites for the favourable issue of the acts of Government, and are properties of a concentrated authority only. The Supreme Junta has therefore just concentrated its own with that prudent circumspection which neither exposes the state to the oscillations consequent upon every change of Government, nor materially affects the unity of the body which is entrusted with it. Henceforth a section composed of the removeable members, will be especially invested with the necessary authority to direct those measures of the executive power, which from their nature, secrecy, energy, and dispatch. Another opinion hostile to the Regency, equally contradicts whatever innovation may be attempted to be made in the political form which the Government has at present, and objects to the intended Cortes as an insufficient representation, if they are constituted according to the ancient formalities, as ill timed and perhaps hazardous, in respect to present circumstances; in short as useless, since it supposes that the superior Juntas,

erected by the people, are their real representatives. But the Junta had expressly declared to the nation, that its first attention in the great object would be occupied with the number, mode, and class, with which the meeting of this august assembly in the present situation of affairs should be carried into effect; and after this declaration it is quite superfluous, not to say malicious, to suspect that future Cortes are to be confined to the rigid and exclusive forms of our ancient ones. Yes, Spaniards, you are going to have your Cortes, and the national representation will in them be as perfect and full as it can and ought to be, in an assembly of such high importance and eminent dignity. You are going to have Cortes, and to have them immediately, because the urgent situation in which the nation is placed, imperiously demands it, and at what time, gracious God, can it adopt this measure better than at present? When an obstinate war has exhausted all the ordinary means; when the egotism of some and the ambition of others debilitate and paralyse the efforts of the government, by their opposition or indifference; when they seek to eradicate the essential principle of the Monarchy, which is union; when the Hydra of Federalism, so happily silenced the preceding year by the creation of the Central Power, dares again to raise its poisonous head, and endeavours to precipitate us into the dissolution of anarchy; when the subtility of our enemies is watching the moment when our divisions disunite us, to destroy the State, and to erect their throne on the ruin which our distractions afford them. This is the time—this, to collect in one point the national dignity and honour, and when the Spanish people may will and decree the extraordinary surplus which a powerful nation ever has within it, for its salvation. It alone can encounter and put them in motion; it alone can encourage the timidity of some, and restrain the ambition of others; it alone will suppress importunate vanity, puerile pretensions, and enfuriated passions, which, unless prevented, go to tear in pieces the Government. It will, in fine, give to Europe a fresh example of its Religion, its circumspection, and its discretion, in the just and moderate use which it is about to make of the glorious liberty in which it is constituted. Thus it is, that the Supreme Junta, which immediately recognised this national representation as a right and proclaimed it as a reward, now invokes and implores it as the most necessary and efficacious remedy; and has therefore resolved that the General Cortes of the Monarchy, announced in the decree of the 22nd of May, shall be convoked on the 1st day of January in the next year, in order to enter on their august functions the 1st day of March following. When that happy day has arrived, the Junta shall say to the Representative of the Nation:—

"Ye are met together, O Fathers of your Country! and

re-established in all the plenitude of your rights, after a lapse of three centuries, when despotism and arbitrary power dissolved you, in order to subject this nation to all the evils of servitude. This aggression which we have suffered, and the war which we maintain, are the fruits of the most shameful oppression and the most unjust tyranny. The Provincial Juntas, who were able to resist and repulse the enemy in the first impetus of his invasion, invested the Supreme Junta with the Sovereign Authority, which they exercised for a time, to give unity to the State and concentrate its power. Called to the exercise of this authority, not by ambition or intrigue, but by the unanimous voice of the provinces of the kingdom, the individuals of the Supreme Junta shewed themselves worthy of the high confidence reposed in them, by employing all their vigilance and exertions for the preservation and prosperity of the State. The magnitude of our efforts will be apparent from the consideration of the enormity of the evil which preceded. When the power was placed in our hands, our armies, half formed, were unprovided and destitute of every thing, our treasury was empty, and our resources uncertain and distant. The despot of France, availing himself of the tranquillity in which the North then was, poured upon the Peninsula the military power under his command, the most formidable that has been known in the most warlike legions, better provided, and above all more numerous than others, rushed on every side, though much to their cost, against our armies, destitute of the same experiness and confidence. A new inundation of barbarians who carried desolation through all the provinces of which they took possession, was the consequence of these reverses, and the ill closed wounds of our unfortunate country began painfully to open and pour with blood in torrents. The State thus lost half its strength; and when the Junta, bound to save the honour, the independence, and the unity of the nation from the impetuous invasion of the tyrant, took refuge in Andalusia, a division of 30,000 men repaired to the walls of Saragossa, to bury themselves in its ruins. The army of the centre being thus deprived of a great part of its strength, did not give to its operations that activity and energy which must have had very different results from those of the battle of Aelos. The avenues of the Sierra Morena and the banks of the Tagus were only defended by ill armed handfuls of men, to whom could scarcely be given the name of armies. The Junta, however, by means of activity and sacrifices, rendered them such, so routed and dispersed in the two battles of Ciudad Real and Medellin, instead of despairing of the country, they redoubled their efforts, and in a few days collected and opposed to the enemy 70,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. These forces have since fought, it is true, with ill success, but

with gallantry and glory. The creation, the reparation, and the subsistance of these armies have more than absorbed the considerable supplies which have been sent us by our brethren in America. We have maintained in the free Provinces unity, order, and justice, and in those occupied by the enemy we have exerted our endeavours to preserve, though secretly, the fire of patriotism and the bounds of loyalty. We have vindicated the national honour and independence in the most complicated and difficult diplomatic negociations; and we have made head against adversity, without suffering ourselves to despair, ever trusting that we should overcome it by our constancy. We have, without doubt, committed errors, and we would willingly, were it possible, redeem them with our blood: but in the confusion of events, among the mountains of difficulties which surround us, who could be certain of always being in the right? Could we be responsible because one body of troops wanted valour, and another confidence; because one general has less prudence, and another less good fortune? Much, Spaniards, is to be attributed to our inexperience, much to circumstances, but nothing to our intention. That ever has been to deliver our unfortunate King from slavery, and preserve to him a throne for which the Spanish people have made such sacrifices, and to maintain it free, independent, and happy. We have, from the time of our institution, promised him a country; we have decreed the abolition of arbitrary power, from the time we announced the re-establishment of our Cortes. Such is, Spaniards, the use we have made of the unlimited power and authority confided to us; and when your wisdom shall have established the basis and form of Government most proper for the independence and good of the State, we will resign the authority into the hands you shall point out, contented with the glory of having given to the Spaniards the dignity of a nation legitimately constituted. May this solemn and magnificent assembly be productive of efficacious means, energy, and fortune; may it be an immense inextinguishable volcano, from which may flow torrents of patriotism to revivify every part of this vast monarchy, to inflame all minds with that sublime enthusiasm which produces the safety and glory of nations, and the despair of tyrants; and yourselves, noble Fathers of the country, to the elevation of your high duties, and Spain exalted with you to an equally brilliant destiny, shall see returned into her bosom for her happiness, Ferdinand VIIth, and his unfortunate family; shall see her sons enter on the path of prosperity and glory which they ought henceforth to pursue, and receive the crown of the sublime and almost divine efforts which they are making.

"MARQUIS OF ASTORGA, President.
"PEDRO DE RINERO, Sec.-Gen."

If history were a mere record of facts brought together to furnish idle people with amusement, and to afford persons the frivolus pleasure of boasting how many books they had read; it would be a matter of indifference under what circumstances or with what spirit the preceding paper was written: but history is the experience of ages, and nations should examine its occurrences as individuals recur to their own experience—with a view to correct the future by the past.

The struggle of those Patriots should teach a finer moral to mankind than any that has yet been introduced into human affairs, for whilst it shews us the *nature* of reason, it forbids us to misjudge its *value*, by displaying at the same time its weakness.—A more sublime feeling never was excited than that which animated the Liberals of Spain, but the mob, the mass of the rulers, as well as the ruled were too ignorant to appreciate it. Of all the nations to whom the sweets of knowledge have been offered, there are none whose general population has benefitted so little by it as Spain; and yet it is evident from the preceding paper, that the few who have opened their minds to receive its advantages, have the vigour of individual intellect in the same degree as persons more favourably associated. Hence it may be inferred, that many individuals in a nation, may be in a high state of civilization, and yet the nation at large may remain in a state of barbarism. It would be an interesting enquiry, whether things might not remain so for even centuries; but we must be content for the present with the simple fact.

The difficulties and ill-successes of the Spanish Liberals, show that the power of reason is entirely limited to its own sphere, and demonstrates the folly of the philosophy that has hitherto governed the world; which has constantly contrived to defeat itself by making knowledge a mark of distinction, rather than a common cooperating impetus,

which if it be not possessed by all the members of a state, continues the existence of a counteracting power, to frustrate the ends of those who do possess it. The Liberals, with all their enlightened views, had been educated in the common prejudice, that knowledge is exclusive property, and therefore they proceeded as the upper classes of society always do, to persuade the nation to make a choice before it was in a condition to understand the things presented to it. The universallity of this fault is the only apology for those who committed it, but the conduct of those patriots can answer no better purpose than to serve as a beacon, to caution all other philosophers and reformists against attempting any considerable change in the condition of mankind without commencing with the understanding.

The multitude are never *persuaded* to adopt what is right, and if ever they happen to take it at all it is either caprice or chance which directs their choice: before they can can be *persuaded* they must *understand* the nature of the thing, and see how it accords with their interests. Now as a large portion of the happiness of the well-informed is sought in attempts to contrive improvements for the multitude, or to invite the multitude to practise the virtues of civilization; it follows that a previous step to be taken for the attainment of this gratification, would be to furnish the mass with the instruction necessary to inspire them with the same sense of the value of those improvements and virtues as such enlightened persons themselves feel.

It is in vain to talk of improvement or civilization—whether we place the degree of perfection that we expect in religion or virtue, in justice or honour, in government or obedience; unless all the parties necessarily formed to cooperate with us, are equally acquainted with all the points requisite to the attainment of the object: for the bond that unites any member of parties together in the ful-

filment of any measure is of the nature of a contract; and it is impossible that the conditions of any contract can be performed if the parties to it be not all equally capable of construing it in its true sence. If men have duties to perform towards society, towards government, towards their connexions or towards themselves, it is requisite that they should see all the relations in which they stand, as well as those do who demand such performance. If there are disorders consequent upon their ignorance, they must be attributed to those who value as a peculiar privilege, and claim as a mark of distinction, the faculty of detecting and triumphing over the errors of others. It is not necessary to anticipate our history, the reader will see where to apply our reasoning: it is sufficient to observe, that at the period when the Cortes were assembled, a small number of the Spaniards were enlightened —the rest were ignorant.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Characteristic sketches,—Of Napoleon and of Josephine.— Disposition of their Marriage.

A DEAD and sullen calm attended the Emperor's chariot wheels from Vienna to Paris, and whilst the world was gaping with vacant anxiety to see what explosion he would have ready next, he had all his agents at work to prepare one of those flourishing expositions of the state of his empire, which served to raise throughout France and Europe, a strong sentiment of admiration of the wisdom and providence of his government. As it is now known that those papers were mere chimeras, founded on false *data*, and contrived only to spread a temporary delusion, their contents are hardly worth reasoning upon. France had been for some years so entirely deprived of the ordinary blessings of social life, that the government found one of its principal employments in the adaptation of a constant succession of magnificent phantoms, in order to furnish consolation to those whom it deprived of happiness. In private life, even where you did not see privation and misery, you beheld melancholly and discontent. The whole nation required the scenes to be constantly shifted in order to divert its morbid sensibility, and the Emperor so thoroughly understood the nature of this malady, that he never considered himself safe, unless he was employed in getting up some new political pantomime.

On becoming the head of the state, Buonaparté instituted circuits, and made them one of the characteristics which distinguished his government from those that had preceded it. He himself

Josephine.
Empress of France.

Pub. by J[illegible] Bunf[illegible]

combined example with precept: he made journies. For this the example of great sovereigns might be alledged whom he affected to imitate. These changes of place suited his character and disposition; his perturbed and restless spirit required a change of scene and of ideas, and violent motion for the soul as well as the body: his own wants thus beat in unison with those of the people.

Good princes ought to visit their subjects to see things with their own eyes, to discover and to supply their wants, and to dispense their favours among them. Buonaparté, professed to do so. His first journey was to St. Quentin to inspect the scite of a canal intended to effect the junction of the Somme with the Scheldt, and of the Oise with the Sambre. It was designed to establish a communication between Belgium and Paris. The ostensible object of this journey was strikingly useful; and the projected work was marked with a character of singularity, since the canal was to be carried for some leagues under ground. The consul was joyfully received by the inhabitants of the countries which he visited, to whom he promised prosperity and abundance. The more frequent these journies grew, the more apparent their political end became. It was designed to exhibit to the universe the spectacle of a spontaneous demonstration of homage and attachment to the new ruler of France. This spectacle was systematically organized; and the *Moniteur*, followed by the innumerable newspapers of France, published the results. Buonaparté travelled, and caused himself to be treated like a great sovereign. He received the same honours, assurances, demonstrations, offers, and presents; he was attended by the retinue and displayed all the pomp of a monarch. The main object was soon swallowed up by the accessories. While yet consul Buonaparté travelled only to arrive and to be received; as Emperor he

commanded the ceremonies to be observed in decrees; and one occupied several sheets of the *Moniteur*, which regulated minutely the ceremonial to be observed on each of these occasions. Every prefect was commanded to be in waiting on the frontiers of his department, and every sub-prefect on the boundary of his district; each mayor to advance at the head of his municipal council five hundred steps, to meet the emperor; the rector to be in readines, at the door of his church, and the bishop at the entrance of his cathedral, with a canopy, bason of holy water, and censor. The ceremonial occupied just time enough to change or bait the horses. It was impossible to examine during this interval into the grievances of the inhabitants—to soothe, to relieve, to create; yet this was called making a circuit.

Mr. Faber states, "that happening one day to be placed, in his official character, next to the mayor of a considerable city, who was about to harangue Buonaparté on his arrival, and had taken great pains to commit his speech to memory; he saw him interrupted by the latter, who scarcely gave him time to present the keys, and to repeat the passage relating to that part of the ceremony; the coachman was impetuously ordered to drive on. The mayor left to harangue by himself, had no consolation but that of seeing the account of the delivery of the keys and his whole discourse in the newspaper the next day."—"No harangue, Gentlemen!" was frequently the discouraging apostrophe with which Buonaparté cut short these trembling deputations; the intended speeches he demanded in writing, and ordered them to be inserted in his official gazette.

The journies of Buonaparté were performed with such extreme rapidity that he could but touch with his chariot wheels the surface of the soil, and even with the best intentions he could only see the mere superfices of objects; he neither wished nor was

desired to see more. When, as first consul, he paid his first visit to Brussels, the resident prefect, M. Doulcet Pontécoulant, ordered all the inhabitants of the streets through which the august traveller was to pass on his entrance into the city, to cause the fronts of their houses to be white-washed and painted, in order, as his circular expressed it, that the chief of the government might be recreated with the spectacle of comfort, and that his sight might not be offended with the sombre colours of poverty and discontent.

The official notification of M. Doulcet Pontécoulant was published and read by all those who can read in France; and the white-washed sepulchres of the prefect of the Dyle had abundance of imitators.

Buonaparté never enquired what had been white-washed and what had not. He knew that on these occasions all was parade and farce, and therefore scarcely condescended to notice the rejoicings and the triumphal arches prepared in honour of him. He considered them all as his due, and he knew better than any other person that all these demonstrations of joy and respect were compulsory.—In one of the public squares of a town, a permanent obelisk, which though of wood, attested the efforts of the place, had been for some time erected in commemoration of him. The name of Buonaparté was repeated in the inscriptions in four languages. He passed a whole week in that town, was every day very near this monument, on which he never deigned to bestow a look, and the municipal administrators were cruelly disappointed because he did not take the trouble to ask a single question on the subject. Any marks of attention he received with the utmost coldness, and he felt himself so entirely the sovereign, that he considered the most trifling condescension an adaquate compensation for any inconvenience to which he exposed individuals. Government possessed no

house for his accomodation when he visited the departments or the towns. If in any of his journies he took up his quarters in the house of a prefect, it was new-furnished and embellished at the expence of the department; and if he made any stay at any other town than the capital, the mayor borrowed for that time of the opulent inhabitants, glasses, chairs, tables, curtains, pictures, time-pieces; the upholsterers were put in requisition to supply articles of decoration, and the whole expence of these preparations fell upon the commune. If he honoured a wealthy mayor or other public functionary with a visit, messengers were sent before him to order, regulate, and arrange all things in the house for his reception, and the master himself was obliged to leave it till the departure of his illustrious guest, when he usually observed, "that he was not better lodged at St. Cloud," and left the cross of the Legion of Honour in token of his satisfaction.

The first object that engaged Buonaparté's attention in the places which he visited, was the presentation of the public authorities. From these he enquired the state of the countries through which he travelled. The questions put by him to the public functionaries were nearly to the following purport:

To the mayors, as the chief magistrates of the communes:—How many inhabitants are there in your place?—What is the proportion of deaths in your district?—What is the amount of your communal revenues?—What is the extent of your woods?—How much do your municipal tolls produce?—Is it not necessary to increase the rates of them?—What is the amount of the municipal expenditure?—What was your quota in the conscription of the present year, and what was it last year?

To the judges of the tribunals *of first instance;*—How many of your members were born out of

the department?—How many are natives?—How many civil actions do you try in a year?—How many criminal causes?—How many appeals are made from your decisions in a year?—How many sentences passed by you are annulled by the court of cassation?

Of the bishops he asked. Are all your churches and chapels organized?—Is their number sufficient for the inhabitants?—Have you the number of priests necessary for the duty of them?—Have you found means to provide suitable lodgings for the rectors?—How do you bring up candidates for the priesthood?—What is the total number of inhabitants in your diocese?—What number of persons do you confirm in a year?

He never appeared in one of his cities but you read the next day in the public papers a declaration addressed to him in these terms:—"You arrive, and all our resources are instantaneously developed, all our wounds are at once healed; industry revives, credit is restored, agriculture prospers, the arts and sciences flourish anew." He must indeed be deplorably ignorant who does not know that no mortal, be his power what it may, is capable of producing a thousandth part of the effects which were ascribed to the presence of a man travelling at full speed; and that commerce, industry, agriculture, and credit, are acted upon by very different springs from those by which soldiers are set in motion. These journies, like all other acts of administration, were subservient to the purposes of mere shew and parade, and dictated by vanity and policy, as the paragraphs and harangues extolling their beneficence were by adulation. The authors of these compositions frequently lived upon the spot; and saw that every thing obstinately disregarded the *fiat* of their all powerful lord, and that the ruins every where remained immoveable. Sometimes, indeed, harangues and articles of this kind dexterously insinuated truths which could not

be bluntly expressed; and indicated what wanted doing, or what ought to have been already done. Some of the pieces concerning Lyons are models of this kind of composition. Nothing could be more ingenious than to tell Buonaparté, that "from him the city of Lyons expected its future prosperity."

On his journies, as well as when at Paris, Buonaparté displayed prodigious activity; besides the audiences which he gave to the local authorities, he would transact business with the counsellors of state or with the ministers. He took very little rest; sometimes he ordered the minister for foreing affairs, or war, to be called up in the middle of the night. At three o'clock in the morning perhaps he had a report read to him, or dictated ideas for some offieial piece. This indefatigable industry was mentioned in the newspapers, and well it might be, for it surpassed the ordinary energies of man; every city in which it was displayed inferred, but erroneously, that its local interests were the object of this application. It would have been impolitie in Buonaparté to pay no attention at all to them; but they ocenpied the smallest portion of his solicitude and of his concern.

In most of these journies, Buonaparté displayed an activity truly astonishing the speetator. No sooner did he alight from his carriage than he received the authorities. When the audienee was over he mounted his horse, and rode round the town to reconnoitre its situation and its environs. If it were too late when he arrived, this reeonnoissance was deferred till day-break the next morning, at six, five, or perhaps at four o'clock,. Before the inhabitants were out of bed Buonaparté had often returned to his lodgings. He sometimes immediately on alighting proposed a hunting-party, whieh would last several hours. All his surveys were taken with extreme rapidity; mounted on his Arabian horse, he would generally leave those who accompanied him far behind; while

waiting for them to rejoin him he gained time to make his observations. With the exception, perhaps, of some general, extraordinary well mounted, scarcely any one of his suite can keep pace with him; his favourite Mameluke, Roustan, who attended him with the led horses, often could not. The citizen commanding the guard of honour, who might have obtained permission to follow him, was generally the first obliged to give in.

He has sometimes fatigued two horses in riding round a town of a moderate size. Falls from their horses were not at all uncommon to his suite; this once happened to Roustan. Buonaparté always seeks the shortest roads; he never follows the windings, and obstacles do not stop him: he leaps over walls, hedges, and ditches, leaving those who follow him to go round. He scales, on horseback, mountains almost inaccessible to the pedestrian, and descends them in the same manner; he has been seen mounting in this way an ascent almost perpendicular, situated near Aix la Chapelle, and descending from it. He often makes with his Arabians most dangerous leaps: his friends have remarked to him the risks to which he exposes himself; to which he one day answered, "Do you not know that I am the first horseman in the world?" He is certainly a good horseman, possessing an extraordinary firmness, and a rare sang-froid, he shews himself every where absolute master of his seat. Wherever he passes he leaves behind him the remembrance of the rapidity of his course, of the boldness of his leaps, and of an activity unparalleled.

However, he always leaves also on the minds of those who reflect, the impression of an activity very different from that of an administrator, it is that of a soldier hardened to fatigue. His circuits round towns are made with the circumspection of a general; he always appears in the act of reconnoitring.

spots of ground fit for the positions of armies for forts or redoubts. One would say, to see his active haste, that he was preparing to give battle the following day. Round a manufacturing, a commercial, or an agricultural town, his circuits always bear the same character; he carries the same coup d'œil every where. It is true that this coup d'œil is just; it is always that of an experienced engineer, and one that may become very useful when it is necessary. At first sight he will point out the best direction to be given to a projected canal, the best place for establishing or for constructing a port or a dyke. A town situated on a navigable river had for some time wished to establish a port of safety beneath its walls. During many years the engineers and the enlightened inhabitants of the place had discussed and debated on which of the given points this port should be placed. Opinions were divided. Buonaparté at the first view pointed out the preferable spot, developing, without hesitation, the motives dictated by the ground, by the declivity of the waters, and the direction of winds. His opinion had been always that of the most enlightened and the most experienced men in all the country. He has a coup d'œil for all grounds and for their application.

It seemed to be his wish to establish in every place the remembrance that a man, in every way remarkable, had passed through it. He appeared unwilling to admit an equal on any point; every thing belonging to him must strike, astonish, impose on the imagination: it would seem as if he wished to crush every ordinary conception by the idea of his being, and to reign over all minds by astonishment. Astonishment being nearly allied to fear. He would not take the trouble to make himself amiable, because he had no desire to be loved. He came not like a father to be surrounded by his children, but like a master among his slaves. When saluted, he paid no attention; thousands of heads

may be uncovered when he passes, he makes not the slightest inclination; never is his hat moved from his head, he seems deaf to the cries of *Vivat & huzza!* If his Majesty condescended so far to indulge the vanity of his slaves as to become the principal artificer in dressing out the phantom of national glory, by performing himself almost every part that could be considered extraordinary; he certainly took no pains to conceal the contempt in which he held them, by adopting, or even affecting to adopt, a respectful and conciliatory carriage towards them. Fortune however, which interfered in behalf of this man upon the most extraordinary occasions, contrived to conceal the grossness of his manners under the benevolent and prudent conduct of his wife. Josephine as well when she was Madame Buonaparté, as after she became Empress, sincerely endeavoured to render herself estimable in private life, and to exhibit herself advantageously on the great stage to which her unexpected and imperious destiny had summoned her. She had dignity in her deportment, grace in her motions, and taste in her dress. The diadem which encircled her head on the days of the ceremony could not efface the features of goodness in her countenance. In the splendid ceremonials of state, under the canopy at church, conducted to the steps of a throne, and surrounded by clouds of incense, her modesty made her appear constrained, without, however, giving an artificial air. Her looks, and all her person seemed to indicate that she followed an impulse foreign to her feelings, and that of herself she had never chosen to act a part to which she did not think herself summoned. Amidst the smoke of the incense, ascending the steps of her throne, she had sometimes the air of a victim conducted to the altar, and she often inspired the idea with all its correspondent feelings.

The voice of gratitude followed her every where on those journies, for seldom did the unfortunate

approach her without the relief best suited to their several circumstances. Buonaparté seemed willing to yield this kind of glory to his wife as he generally arrived and departed without her. Sometimes indeed several days would intervene; notwithstanding this indifference, there do not appear any traces of ill treatment exercised by Buonaparté against his wife. In private life he gave an example of domestic union and regulated habits. He retired to rest at ten; if there were festivals in common, about eleven; rarely ever later than mid-night.

The union of Buonaparté and Josephine had originated in policy rather than attachment, and it had been preserved through various stages of fortune, from respect to public decorum, rather than from affection; change of time and circumstances, suggested a new policy, and a union cemented by such feeble ties, could easily be dissolved; accordingly the first advantage that Buonaparté took of the devotion he received from a wondering world, after his victories over the House of Austria, was to announce the divorcement of the Empress Josephine. The surprise excited by the declaration was merely momentary, and that it existed at all, was only owing to the suddeness with which it was promulged; for the secret of his design was concealed with such care, that it did not escape in any form, until the consent of all the parties interested, was ready to be published in an official form. As we are in this age confirmed in the habit of regarding this man as a usurper—the mere mimic of a Monarch, and ape of an Emperor, we do not feel more respect for his reasons in justification of this measure, than we do for many of his other reasonings; probably, posterity may think the following acts and decrees as natural, and pure in principle, as any of the laws or declarations of those *soi disant* sacred beings, whom all othodox politicians look upon as legitimate sovereigns. They fully explain the transaction.

Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate, of Saturday, the 16th Dec. 1809.

"THE Conservative Senate, assembled to the number of Members prescribed by the 90th Art. of the Act of the Constitution, and dated the 13th December, 1799, having seen the Act drawn up the 15th of the present month, by the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, of which the following is the substance:—

"In the year 1809, and the 15th day of Dec. at nine o'clock in the evening, we, Jean Jaques Regis Cambaceres, Prince Arch Chancellor of the Empire, Duke of Parma, exercising the functions prescribed to us by Tit. 2, of Art. 14 of the Statute of the Imperial Family, and in consequence of orders addressed to us by his Majesty the Emperor and King, in his private letter, dated that day, of the following tenor:—"My Cousin;—Our desire is, that you repair this day, at nine o'clock in the evening, to our grand cabinet of the palace of the Thuilleries, attended by the Civil Secretary of State of our Imperial Family, to receive from us and from the Empress, our dear consort, a communication of great importance; for this purpose, we have ordered that this present private letter should be sent to you. We pray God to have you my Cousin in his holy and blessed keeping. Paris, 15th December, 1809,"—— On the back is written—"To our cousin the Prince Arch-Chancellor Duke of Parma." —— We accordingly proceeded to the Hall of the Throne of the Palace of the Thuilleries, attended by Michel Louis Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely) Count of the Empire, Minister of State, and Secretary of State to the Imperial Family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the Grand Cabinet of the Emperor, where we found his Majesty the Emperor and King with her Majesty the Empress, attended by their Majesties the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy, the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame, and her Imperial Highness the Princess Paulina.—His Majesty the Emperor and King condescended to address us in these terms; "My Cousin Prince Arch-Chancellor—I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my Cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I, and the Empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure, that the Kings, Queens and Princesses, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you.—The politics of my Monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly

guided all my actions, require, that after me I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne, on which Providence has placed me; notwithstanding for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort, the Empress Josephine. This it is, which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart to attend to nothing but the good of the State, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of 40 years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, when it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that, far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of Empress; but, above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

His Majesty the Emperor and King having ended, her Majesty the Empress Queen spoke as follows:—"By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty, it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of this throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendant of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart; the Emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy, and by interest so great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country."

"After which their Imperial Majesties having demanded an act of their respective declarations, as well as of their mutual consent contained in them, and which their Majesties gave to the dissolution of their marriage; as also, of the power which their Majesties conferred on us to follow up, as need shall require, the effect of their will, we, Prince Arch-Chancellor of

the Empire, in obedience to the orders and requisitions of their Majesties, have given the aforesaid act, and have in consequence executed the present *proces verbal*, to serve and avail according to law to which *proces verbal* their Majesties have affixed their signature, and which, after having been signed by the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses present, has been signed by us, and countersigned by the Secretary of State of the Imperial Family who wrote with his own hand.

"Done at the palace of the Thuilleries, the day, hour, and the year aforesaid;

"(Signed) NAPOLEON.
JOSEPHINE.
MADAME.
LOUIS.*
JEROME NAPOLEON.
JOACHIM NAPOLEON.
EUGENE NAPOLEON.
JULIE.
HORTENSE.
CATHERINE.
PAULINE.
CAROLINE.

CAMBACERES, Prince Arch-Chancellor.
Count REGNAULT, (de St. Jean d'Angely.)

Having seen the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, drawn up in the form prescribed by the 57th Article of the Act of the Constitutions of August 4, 1802; after having heard the motives of the said Projet, the Orators of the Council of State and Report of the Special Commission appointed in the sitting of this day; the adoption having been discussed by the number of members prescribed by the 56th Article of the Act of the Constitution of August 4, 1802;

DECREES,

"Art. I. The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved.

"II. The Empress Josephine shall preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned.

"III. Her dowry is fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs, on the revenue of the state.

"IV. All the assignments which may be made by the Emperor, in favour of the Empress Josephine, on the funds of the Civil List, shall be obligatory on his successors.

"V. The present Senatus Consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

"The two Addresses proposed by the Commission were afterwards put to the vote, and adopted."

* Joseph and Lucien were absent.

CONSERVATIVE SENATE.

Sitting of the 16th Dec. 1809.

"At eleven o'clock in the morning, the Members of the Senate assembled in full dress, in their palace, in virtue of the Act of Convocation:—His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire was received with the usual honours. His Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Majesty the King of Naples Grand Admiral, his Imperial Highness the Prince Viceroy of Italy, Arch-Chancellor of State, and their Serene Highnesses the Prince Vice-Constable, and the Prince Vice-Grand Elector, were present. The sitting was opened by reading the Act of Designation.—The Prince Arch-Chancellor of State had the parole to take the oath of Senator. His Imperial Highness, previous to that ceremony, expressed himself as follows.—"Prince, Senators—From the time when the goodness of his Majesty the Emperor has called me to sit among you, testimonies of his confidence have kept me continually distant from Paris, and I have, this day, for the first time, the pleasure to appear in the midst of you. I am happy in being able to say, that among the benefits which his Majesty has incessantly showered upon me, I have been particularly sensible to the honour which was granted me, of forming a part of the first public body in the Empire. Accept Senators, this expression of my feelings, and my assurance of the happiness I experience in pronouncing, in the midst of you, this oath, which is to me that of duty, of love, and of gratitude. I swear obedience to the constitutions of the Empire, and fidelity to the Emperor."

"The Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, President, replied as follows to the speech of the Prince Viceroy:

"Prince—When his Majesty the Emperor and King conferred on you the high dignity, whereof you have just exercised one of the most essential prerogatives, the Senate applauded this act of justice. They congratulated themselves on counting among their members a Prince, whose brilliant qualities excited such good hopes. Now that those hopes are realized by the glory of your last campaigns, and by the wisdom of your Administration, the Senate experiences great satisfaction in seeing you in its bosom, to concur in the important deliberation it is about to enter upon. You shew yourself truly the adoptive son of the hero who governs us; in like him silencing private affection, before the interests of nations. Your first steps within these walls could not be more worthily signalized, than by this great testimony of patriotism, of devotion, and of fidelity. I rejoice in being the organ of the sentiments of the Senate towards your Imperial Highness, and in expressing to you their wishes for your prosperity."

"The Orators of the Council of State, Counts Regnault (de St. Jean d'Angely), and Defermont, Ministers of State, Members of the Council of State, being introduced, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, President, spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen—The Projet, which will, in this sitting, be submitted to the deliberation of the Senate, contains an arrangement which embraces our dearest interests. It is dictated by that imperious voice, which apprises Sovereigns and nations, that to secure the safety of States, we must listen to the counsels of a wise foresight, incessantly recal to mind the past, examine the present, and to extend our views to the future. It is under such high considerations, that in these ever memorable circumstances, his Majesty the Emperor has caused all personal considerations to disappear, and silenced all his private affections. The noble and affecting conduct of her Majesty the Empress, is a glorious testimony of her disinterested affection for the Emperor, and secures to her an eternal right to the gratitude of the nation."

"Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely submitted a Projet of a Senatus Consultum, dissolving the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. The orator explained the motives of this Projet as follows;—

"My Lord, Senators—The solemn act fully set forth in the Senatus Consultum now read, contains all its motives. What words could we address to the Senate of France, but would be far below the affecting sounds received from the mouth of these two august consorts, of whom your deliberations will consecrate the generous resolution? Their hearts have coincided in making the noblest sacrifices to the greatest of interests They have coincided to make policy and sentiment speak language the most true, the most persuasive, the most adapted to move and to convince. As sovereigns and as consorts, the Emperor and Empress hove done all, have said all. There only remains for us to love, to bless, and to admire them.—'Tis henceforth for the French nation to make themselves heard. Their memory is faithful as their heart. They will unite in their grateful thoughts the hope of the future with the remembrance of the past; and never will Monarch have received more respect, admiration, gratitude, and love, than Napoleon, immolating the most sacred of his affections, to the wants of his subjects; than Josephine, immolating her tenderness for the best of husbands, through devotion for the best of Kings, through attachment to the best of nations. Accept, Gentlemen, in the name of all France, in the sight of astonished Europe, this sacrifice, the greatest ever made on earth, and, full of the profound emotion which you feel, hasten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your sentiments, of the sentiments of all Frenchmen, the only price that can be worthy of the fortitude of our Sovereigns, the only consolation that can be worthy of their hearts."

"The Prince Viceroy (the son of Josephine) spoke as follows:—

"Prince, Senators—You have heard the Projet of the Senatus Consultum, submitted to your deliberation. I feel it my duty, under these circumstances, to manifest the sentiments by which my family are animated.—My mother, my sister, and myself, owe all to the Emperor. He has truly been to us a father. He will find in us at all times devoted children and obedient subjects.—It is important to the happiness of France, that the Founder of the Fourth Dynasty should, in his old age, be surrounded by direct descendants, who may prove a security to all, and a pledge of the glory of our country.—When my mother was crowned, before the whole nation, by the hands of her august consort, she contracted an obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interests of France. She has fulfilled, with fortitude, nobleness, and dignity, this first of duties. Her soul has often been moved at beholding exposed to painful struggles, the heart of a man accustomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm step to the accomplishment of his great designs. The tears which this resolution has cost the Emperor, suffice for the honour (*a la gloire*) of my mother.—In the situation she will now fill, she will be no stranger, by her wishes, and her feelings, to the new prosperities which await us: with a satisfaction mingled with pride, that she will behold the happiness her sacrifices will produce to her country and to her Emperor."

CHAPTER XXV.

Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon with Maria Louisa, Daughter of the Emperor of Austria, with the Ceremonies observed by both Courts upon the Occasion.

SOME opinion may be formed of the character of our times, from the simple fact, that as soon as Josephine was separated from Buonaparté, it was discovered that she possessed every amiable quality, and lived in the practice of all sorts of virtues; although, whilst she had remained his wife, she had been branded like all the branches of his family male and female, with every infamous epithet that the press could bring forth. If the English were less lavish than other people in the praises bestowed upon this lady, it was because they found their inconsistency sufficiently glaring, by the simple *suspension* of their calumnies; for as they were the only nation who could afford to pay well for the invention and forgery of falshoods, they had ingrossed the principal supply of calumniators both native and foreign, that their lax and dishonourable avidity called into being: of them therefore, it is nearer to the truth to say, that from the moment of her divorce they ceased to persecute her. She may now therefore be considered as having retired into private life with her rank, and an income more than sufficient for her wants, and therefore as having very little further influence over public affairs:—She no longer shocked the pride nor humbled the vanity of aristocracy, by exhibiting in every practicable point of view, in strong caricature, all the follies of the pride of birth and rank, and it seemed to feel an instinctive

necessity for controuling its rage from an irrisistible consciousness, that in spite of itself, such a thing as justice did somewhere exist, which would visit its multiplied slanders and falshoods with still further degradation.

The secret and undefined forebodings of aristocracy, were evinced by its restlessness, and by its industry to discover the precise taste of the new dose of bitter that it must be obliged to swallow; consolation was sought for in the hope that some of the petty Dukes or Electors had offered a daughter to Napoleon. and when this dream could not be realized, a Prussian Princess, some thought, might have condescended to become the victim; there were indeed those who, considering the Emperor of Russia a demi barbarian, a mere Moscovite, marred and destroyed for a long life to come, by the visits to Tilsit and Erfurth, was ready to nominate one of his sisters as the mushroom Emperor's new wife; but six weeks sufficed to dissipate all the cordial of these speculations, for Buonaparté had surmounted the highest pinnacle of ambition, and despoiled chivalry of the loftiest feather in its cap. The Emperor of Austria—the Sovereign of a country, where the common esquires of the land bemoan their unhappy lot, if they do not happen to number sixteen quarterings in their arms, to entitle them to an honourable union —the main pillar of the privileged orders—the sacred depository of the purest noble blood—the haughtiest Prince even among the most ancient houses of Europe, had humbly presented his own daughter to the *ci-devant* Lieutenant of Artillery, who possessed no memorial whatever in the herald's college, but the rough hewn Eagle carved out with his own hand. Napoleon had sheathed his swodr, it appeared, to be admitted to the Austrian Court as a suiter to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and the sacrifice of this lady was made for the redemption of her Father's Empire.

All the formalities being arranged and all the points of etiquette between the two Courts being adjusted, Buonaparté proceeded to the frontiers of his Empire to receive his intended bride, and that part of his object being completed, as if determined to affix an eternal stigma on the pride of rank and birth, he caused an official account of the whole ceremony to be published, in which nearly all the members of the Imperial Family of Austria were mixed up in the degraded office of ministering to the pomp and exaltation of an unprincipled military adventurer. This extraordinary event, so important in the life of our Hero, will be regarded by succeeding ages as no less singular in the history of the world, and it would be as criminal to omit in this work any part of the details, as it would be to mutilate the annals of Tacitus or the Memoirs of Sully.

Buonaparté's right-hand man, Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel, was appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Vienna to conduct the ceremonies, and on the 7th of March, at six in the evening, the French Ambassador proceeded to Court with great ceremony, and was received in the same manner as on a day of audience. Having arrived near his Majesty's throne, he delivered a speech, and demanded in the name of his Majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, the hand of her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa.—The Emperor, as chief of his house, having given an answer, and the Grand Chamberlain having been sent to conduct the Archduchess Maria Louisa, her Imperial Highness entered accompanied by the Grand Mistress and Grand Master of her Court, and having approached his Majesty with a profound reverence, she was placed to the left of the Emperor.—The Ambassador then presented to her Imperial Highness the letter and the portrait of the Emperor of the French. Her Imperial Highness having formally consented to the demand

made of her, placed the portrait on her bosom. The Ambassador then, conducted by the Commissioner of Audience, and preceded by the whole of his suite, proceeded to an audience of the Empress, and then to the apartment, prepared for the purpose, of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles, to whom the Ambassador communicated the desire of the Emperor of the French that his Imperial Highness would represent his person in the solemnity of the marriage.—Having then presented to his Imperial Highness his full powers, he retired to his hotel, accompanied in the same manner as before. At seven in the evening there was a grand assembly and gala at Court, at which the Ambassador and Count Otto were present.

Speech of the FRENCH AMBASSADOR *Extraordinary.*

"SIRE; I come in the name of the Emperor, my master, to demand of you the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, your illustrious daughter. The eminent qualities which distinguish that Princess, have assigned her a place upon a great Throne.—She will contribute to the happiness of a great people and of a great man.—The policy of my Sovereign is in unison with the wishes of his heart.—This union of two powerful families, Sire, will give to two generous nations new assurances of tranquillity and happiness."

Answer of the EMPEROR.

"I REGARD the demand in marriage of my daughter as a pledge of the sentiments of the Emperor of the French, which I justly appreciate.—My wishes for the happiness of the future marriage cannot be expressed with too much truth; it will be mine.—I shall find in the friendship of the Prince, whom you represent, excellent motives of consolation for the separation of my dear child; our people will see the assured pledge of their mutual welfare.—I grant the hand of my daughter to the Emperor of the French."

Speech of the FRENCH AMBASSADOR *Extraordinary to her* IMPERIAL HIGHNESS *the* ARCHDUCHESS MARIA LOUISA.

"MADAME; Your august father has fulfilled the wishes of the Emperor, my master.—Political considerations may have influenced the determination of both Sovereigns, but the first

consideration is that of your happiness. It is above all your consent, Madame, that the Emperor, my master, wishes to obtain.—It will be delightful to see united on a great throne to the genius of power those beauties and graces which are so dearly loved.—This day, Madame, will be a happy one for the Emperor, my master, if your Imperial Highness orders me to inform him that you participate in the hopes, the wishes, and the sentiments of his heart."

Answer of her IMPERIAL HIGHNESS *the* ARCHDUCHESS MARIA LOUISA.

"THE will of my father has constantly been mine, my happiness will always be involved in his.—It is in these principles that the Emperor Napoleon cannot fail to find a pledge of the sentiments which will actuate my conduct towards my husband; happy if I can contribute to his happiness and to that of a great nation. I give, with the permission of my father, my consent to my union with the Emperor Napoleon."

Speech of the FRENCH AMBASSADOR *Extraordinary to the* EMPRESS.

"MADAME; The Emperor, my master, has especially charged me to testify to your Imperial Majesty, all those sentiments with which he is penetrated towards you.—He deeply feels the obligation which he owes to you for the good example, and the care which the Archduchess Maria Louisa has received from you.—He cannot conceive a better model for the union of the Majesty of the Throne with amiability, and the gracious qualities which your Imperial Majesty possesses in so eminent a degree."

Answer of the EMPRESS.

"IT is in the moment so interesting to my heart, in which the destiny of my dear daughter is fixed for ever, that I am charmed at receiving from your Serene Highness the assurance of the sentiments of the Emperor and King. Habituated on all occasions to conform my wishes, and my opinions to those of the Emperor, my dearly beloved husband, I unite with him in the confidence with which he looks to the results promised by so happy an union, as well as in the most ardent wishes for the future and unalterable happiness of our very dear daughter, which will henceforth only depend on that of his Majesty the Emperor and King.—Feeling sensibly the opinion, much too favourable, which his Majesty the Emperor and King has conceived of me, I can only attribute it to the excellent natural disposition of my dear daughter, and the mildness of her character. I will answer for her, that her only objects will be to contribute to the happiness of his Majesty the Emperor and

King, and to conciliate at the same time the love of the French nation."

Speech of the FRENCH AMBASSADOR *Extraordinary, to his* IMPERIAL HIGHNESS *the* ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

"MONSEIGNEUR;—The Emperor, my master, having obtained from the Emperor, your illustrious Brother, the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, has charged me to express to your Imperial Highness the value which he sets upon it by his wish that you would accept his procuration for the marriage ceremony.—If your Imperial Highness gives your consent, I have the honour to present to you the procuration of my Master."

Answer of the ARCHDUKE CHARLES:

"I ACCEPT with pleasure, my Prince, the proposition which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has through you transmitted to me. Equally flattered by his choice, as penetrated with the delightful presentiment that this alliance will efface every trace of political dissension, repair the evils of war, and produce a future happiness to two nations, who are formed to esteem each other, and who will render each other reciprocal justice.—I shall reckon amongst the most interesting moments of my life, that when in token of a reconciliation as frank as faithful, I shall present the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa to the Delegate of the Great Monarch whom you represent; and I pray you, my Prince, to publish to all France my ardent wishes that the virtues of the Archduchess may cement for ever the friendship of our Sovereigns, and the happiness of their people."

The Ambassador then presented the Archduke with full powers, after which the Archduke conducted him to the apartment of his Majesty, where all the Imperial Family were assembled, to proceed to a Grand Court Gala. The circle was numerous and brilliant, and the Archduchess, decorated with Napoleon's portrait, attracted every eye.

At six o'clock in the evening, the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon, with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, was celebrated in the Church of the Augustins, Vienna. The French Ambassador Extraordinary, proceeded with three of the Court carriages and six, to the Palace where the Archduke Charles was in waiting. That Prince and

the other Archdukes conducted him to the Emperor, with whom was the Empress and the Archduchess. Their Majesties then passed into the grand apartments, where were assembled the Ladies and the Nobles of the Court, and from thence to the church of St. Augustins.—The ceremony was performed with much pomp. Te Deum was sung, and discharges of artillery announced the moment of the nuptial benediction. On returning to the Palace, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, now Empress, was conducted by the Prince of Neufchatel. She was placed under a canopy surrounded by her Ladies and Officers and then received a letter from the Emperor Napoleon, which the Count de Bearn, Chamberlain to his Majesty, had the honour to present to her.—The Prince of Neufchatel then advanced to salute the new Empress, and to be admitted to the honour of kissing her hand. General Count Lauriston, Count Alexander de Laborde, Secretary of the Embassy, and the gentlemen of the Embassy, where then presented, whom her Majesty kindly received, and admitted to the honour of kissing her hand. Count Otto immediately afterwards presented the Ladies and Officers of the Court. The procession to the Church of St. Augustins was extremely splendid. The covered galleries, through which the procession passed, were very brilliantly illuminated. The Nobility went first, next the great officers of the Crown, then the Ministers, the French Ambassador Extraordinary, the Archdukes, the Emperor and Empress, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, with the Ladies of the Palace.—The church was ornamented with the richest tapestry, and illuminated with great magnificence. The Ladies received at Court were placed on seats to the right and left. Benches were placed for the other classes. The Archbishop with several Bishops, and his Clergy, preceded the Emperor. His Majesty placed himself under a canopy on the right of the alter. The Empress,

who led the Archduchess Maria Louisa by the hand, giving her the right, conducted her to a pew prepared in front of the altar, and then took her seat under a canopy, to the left of the Emperor. The Archdukes were in a pew to the right of the throne. On the left were the officers of the Emperor and Empress. The Archduke Charles was in a pew to the left of the Empress. On the right of this pew was placed the Prince of Neufchatel, having a chair and a pew similar to those of the Archdukes.

Ceremony observed upon the EMPRESS *quitting the Austrian Territory, and being delivered over to the French Commissioners.*

Braunau, March 18.

"THE Empress who had arrived at Ried on the 15th, set out on the 16th at eight in the morning, and arrived about eleven at Altheim, where she stopped to change her dress. An hour afterwards she again set out, followed by the whole procession, and arrived at two at the place destined for her reception.—Near the vilage of St. Pierre, and at one league beyond Braunau, a building had been constructed, divided into three large saloons, having two entrances, one on the side of Braunau and the other on that of Altheim. It had been carefully furnished and warmed with stoves. The saloon in the middle was ornamented by a canopy, below which was placed upon an elevation, an arm chair of cloth of gold destined for her Majesty. To the left of the canopy and towards the entrance on the side of Braunau, was placed a large table covered with velvet, and destined for the signatures of the Plenipotentiaries. A court had been marked out on both sides to contain the carriages of the double procession. Avenues planted with trees abutted on the two lateral saloons.—At half past one, the Prince of Neufchatel and all the persons forming part of the procession, destined to accompany the Empress, proceeded into the first saloon, the men in full costume and the ladies in court dresses. About two the Empress arrived with all her suite, and alighted in the saloon on the side of Altheim. After resting for a moment, her Majesty was introduced by the Austrian Master of the Ceremonies into the grand saloon, where she placed herself in the chair prepared for her. Around her where ranged the Ladies and Chamberlains of her suite, the Grand Mistress and the Grand Master occupying the first places on the side of the elevation. The Prince of Trautmansdorff, appointed

Commissioner to make the Delivery, placed himself fronting the table, and behind him the Aulic Counsellor Hudelitz, executing the office of Secretary of the Delivery. The bottom and two sides of the hall were occupied by twelve noble Hungarian guards, and as many German guards under arms and in full uniform. As soon as all were thus arranged, the Austrian Master of the Ceremonies, the Baron de Lohr, tapped at the door of the saloon, in which were the Prince of Neufchatel and the French Court, and the French Master of the Ceremonies, the Count de Seyssel, came forth. He then introduced the Prince of Neufchatel, the Commissioner of the Emperor of the French, who entered, followed by the Count de Laborde, executing the office of Secretary of the Delivery. After them came the Duchess of Montebello, Lady of Honour, the Count de Beauharnais, Chevalier of Honour, and all the Ladies and Chevaliers sent to attend the Empress, who ranged themselves at the bottom of the saloon, opposite the Austrian procession. The Prince of Neufchatel then advanced towards her Majesty, and stated in few words the object for which they were assembled in that place. Immediately afterwards the two Commissioners complimented each other and passed to the table where were the Acts of Delivery and Reception. The Counsellor, Hudelitz, read in a loud voice the powers of the Prince of Trautmansdorff and his own. The Count de Laborde also read those of the Prince of Neufchatel and his own. The Secretaries delivered the papers to the two Commissioners, who exchanged them. They passed then to the Act of Delivery, which was read by the Counsellor, Hudelitz, and that of Reception, by M. de Laborde. The two Commissioners and their respective Secretaries signed the two Acts, and having affixed to them the seals of their arms, exchanged them. These formalities being finished, the Prince of Trautmansdorff, Commissioner of the Emperor of Austria, advanced bowing towards the Empress, and requested permission to kiss her hand on taking leave.—Her Majesty granted this permission to him, and also to all the Chevaliers and Ladies of her suite who had attended her from Vienna. Each according to their rank approched her Majesty, and kissed her hand with an emotion produced by their bidding a last adieu to a dear Princess. It is difficult to imagine a ceremony more noble or more affecting. Her Majesty could not refrain from tears, at these last marks of respect and attachment from the old servants of her house, and the French who witnessed the scene partook of the general emotion. During this ceremony the Austrian and French Secretaries took an account of the jewels of the Empress, and exchanged an inventory.—The whole procession having resumed their places, the Austrian Commissioner presented his hand to the Empress to conduct her to the French Commissioner, who taking her Majesty's hand

advanced towards the French Court, and named the different persons composing it. At this moment the door of the first saloon opened, and the Queen of Naples, who had arrived during the ceremony, advanced towards the Empress, who embraced her with tenderness and conversed for some time with her. The Archduke Anthony was then announced, whom the Emperor of Austria had sent to compliment the Queen of Naples, and who was to return immediately with news of the Empress. After the Queen had received and thanked him, the two Princesses got into a carriage, and, followed by the Prince of Neufchatel and their suite, proceeded to Braunau. The sides of the road were lined with troops, and cannon resounded on all sides.

Programme relative to the Civil Marriage.

"At one o'clock on the day fixed for the Civil Marriage, all those who are to compose the train of their Majesties will assemble in the Palace of St. Cloud, viz. those in the service of the Empress in the saloons of her apartment, on the side of the garden, and those in the service of the Emperor in the saloons of his apartment, next to that of the Empress, on the side of the Court.—At noon the Masters of the Ceremonies and their assistants will assemble in the gallery, which till that hour will be shut, and assign their proper stations to the persons invited. Behind the estrade will be stationed the Officers of the Emperor's Household, and of those of the Princes and Princesses not on duty.—The space to the right and left of the estrade will be divided into compartments, and appropriated to the Ladies in the services of the Princesses, the Ladies of the Ministers and grand Officers of the Empire, to the Ladies that have been invited, Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, the Ministers, the Grand Officers of the Empire, the Grand Eagles of the Legion of Honour, the Senators, the Counsellors of State, and the Couriers that have been invited.—Such of the persons invited as cannot find accommodation in the gallery, will remain in the Saloon of Mars and the grand apartments of the Emperor, to see the procession.

"At the bottom of the gallery, will be placed on an estrade, two arm chairs surmounted with a canopy: that on the right being for the Emperor, and the other on the left for the Empress. At the foot of the estrade, and to one side of it, will be a table covered with rich tapestry, and with an ink-stand and the registers of the Civil State placed thereon.—At two o'clock, those who are to compose the procession being assembled as above stated, in their Majesties' apartments, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Colonel-General of the Guard on duty, the Grand Officers of the Crown of France and Italy, will go in quest of their Majesties. The procession

will move in the following order, on its way to the gallery, passing through the Emperor's Cabinet, the saloon of the Princes, the Presence Chamber, and the Saloon of Mars. The Vergers, Heralds, Pages, Assistant Master of the Ceremonies, Officers of the Household to the King of Italy, the Emperor's Equerries in Ordinary, the Chamberlains in Ordinary, the Emperor's Aides-de-Camp, the two Equerries in attendance for the day, the Aide-de-Camp on duty, the Governor of the Palace, the Secretary of State for the Imperial Family, the Grand Officers of the Crown of Italy, the Grand Chamberlain of France, and that of Italy, the Princes Grand Dignitaries, the Princes of the Blood, the Emperor and Empress.—Behind their Majesties, the Colonel-General of the Guard on service, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, the Grand Master of the Household of Italy, the Grand Almoners of France and Italy; the Knight of Honour and Equerry to the Empress, carrying the train of her mantle; the maids of Honour of France and Italy, and the Robing Women; the Princesses of the Blood, the Ladies of the Palace, the Maids of Honour to the Princesses, the Officers of the Households of the Princes and Princesses in attendance.—All will be uncovered. The procession having reached the gallery, the heralds and pages will branch off half to the right, and half to the left, in the Saloon of Mars, close to the entrance.—The Officers and Grand Officers of France and Italy, the Maids of Honour, and the Robing Women, will proceed to take their station according to their rank, behind their Majesties' chairs.—Their Imperial Majesties will take their seats on the throne; the Princes and Princesses to the right and left of the estrade, in the following order, and according to their relation of blood:—

"To the right of the Emperor, Madame; Prince Louis Napoleon, King of Holland; Prince Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia; Prince Borghese, Duke of Guastalla; Prince Joachim Napoleon, King of Naples; Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, the Prince Arch-Chancellor; the Prince Vice-Grand Elector.—To the left of the Empress, the Princess Julia, Queen of Spain; the Princess Hortensia, Queen of Holland; the Princess Catherine, Queen of Westphalia; the Princess Eliza, Grand Duchess of Tuscany; the Princes Paulina; the Princess Caroline, Queen of Naples; the Grand Duke of Wurtzburgh; the Princess Augusta, Vice-Queen of Italy; the Princess Stephanie, Hereditary Grand Duchess of Baden; the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden; the Prince Arch Treasurer; the Prince Vice-Constable.—The Secretary of State to the Imperial Family will take his seat at the table. The first bench will be reserved for the Ladies of the Palace. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies; the Masters and Assistants of the Ceremonies, to the right and left front of the throne. On the arrival of their Majesties, all the

Ladies will rise up, and continue standing until the end of the ceremony.—The Emperor being seated, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies will take his Majesty's orders, and proceed to request his Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire to go up to the Emperor's chair. One of the Masters of the Ceremonies will at the same time give notice to the Secretary of State for the Imperial Family, who will approach the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and make his obeisance to their Majesties.

His Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor, having bowed to their Majesties, will say—"In the name of the Emperor (at these words their Majesties will stand up)—Sire, does your Imperial and Royal Majesty declare that you take in marriage her Imperial and Royal Highness Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, here present?" The Emperor will answer—"I declare that I take in marriage her Imperial and Royal Highness Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, here present."—He will then put the question to her Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduchess of Austria, in these terms;—"Does her Imperial and Royal Highness Maria Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, declare that she takes in marriage his Majesty the Emperor and King Napoleon, here present?" Her Imperial and Royal Highness will answer—"I declare that I take in marriage his Majesty the Emperor and King Napoleon here present." The Prince Arch-Chancellor will then pronounce the marriage in these terms:—"In the name of the Emperor and the Law, I declare that his Imperial and Royal Majesty Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and her Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa, are united in marriage."—Then the Masters and Assistants of the Ceremonies will carry the table, on which are the registers of the civil state, up to the chairs of the Emperor and Empress, and return to their places. The signing of the Act of Marriage will take place in the following manner:—

"The Secretary of State to the Imperial Family will present the pen to the Emperor, and then to the Empress. Their Majesties will sign it sitting, and without quitting their places. The Princes and Princesses will approach the table, receive the pen from the hands of the Secretary and subscribe their names, previously bowing to the Emperor and Empress. They will subscribe in the order settled by the ceremonial.—The Act being concluded with the signatures of the Prince Arch-Chancellor, and the Secretary, the Masters and Assistants of the Ceremonies, after making a profound reverence to the Emperor and Empress, will remove the table which had been placed before their Majesties. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies will make a bow to their Majesties, and inform them that the ceremony is completed.—Their Majesties will then return to the apartment of the Empress in the following order:

—The Vergers, Heralds at arms, and Pages, will place themselves in rank in the Saloon of Mars to form the advance of the procession. The Officers and Grand Officers preceding their Majesties will advance from right and left to take their places in the procession. The Grand Dignitaries and the Princes and Princesses of the Blood will next advance.—Then the Emperor and Empress, followed by the Colonel-General of the Guard, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, and the Grand Almoner, the Knight of Honour, the first Equerry, the two Maids of Honour, and the Robing Woman.—The Princesses will follow, and the procession will close with the Ladies of the Palace, the Maids of Honour to the Princesses, and the officers in the service of the Princes and Princesses.—The procession will reconduct their majesties to the apartment of the Empress, and then retire. Upon this occasion the Empress will be in full court dress, and wear a crown set with diamonds. At two o'clock the ceremony of the civil marriage will be announced by discharges of artillery fired at St. Cloud, and repeated at Paris at the Hospital of the Invalids.—After dinner their Majesties will repair to the family drawing-room. The retinue to accompany them to the theatre will assemble in the adjoining chambers. Their Majesties, in going to the theatre, will pass through the grand apartments of the Orangery, and arrive at the Imperial Box. The Orangery will be illuminated.—The persons invited to the ceremony will also be invited to the theatre. At the conclusion of the performance, the Emperor will re-conduct the Empress to her apartment. When the Emperor retires, the Empress will accompany him to her outer saloon. There will be a general illumination at St. Cloud, and the water-works will play.

CHAPTER XXV.

New Prospects of Europe, in consequence of the the Union of the Houses of Hapsburgh and Buonaparté.—Genealogical Basis of Buonaparté's Project for refounding the Empire of Charlemagne.

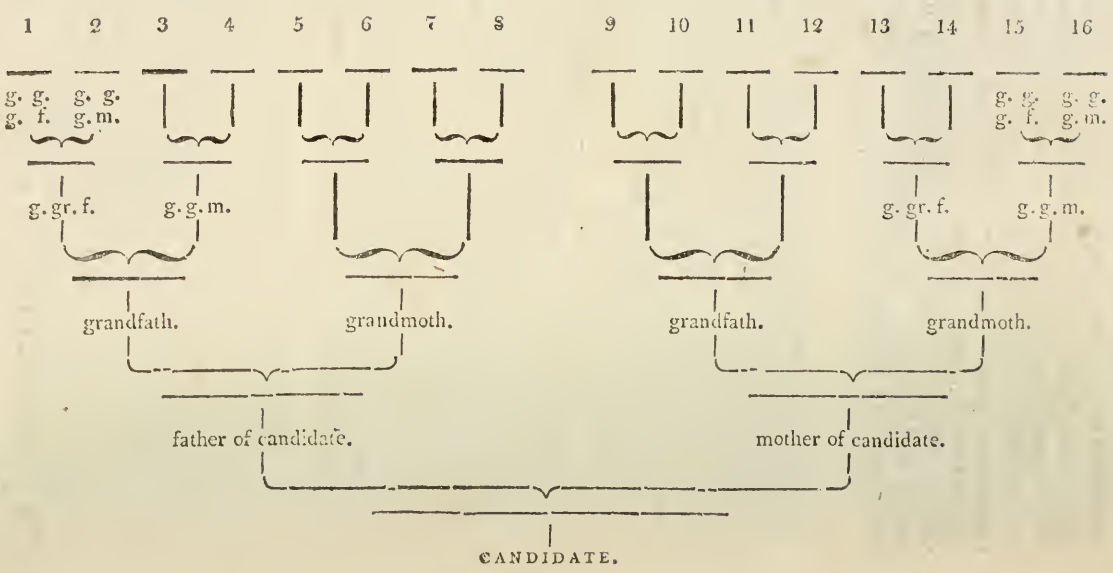
ACCORDING to this programme, the civil marriage was performed at the Palace of St. Cloud, on Sunday April the first, and the religious ceremany, as a matter of course, took place next day at the Chapel of the Thuilleries, amidst all the eclat that could be displayed by a nation, who seemed intoxicated with the grandeur, which they acknowledged to be derived from the genius of their Monarch.

Whilst the contemptible vanity of the Buonapartian Family* and courtiers, in thus feasting upon their elevation to a rank above their species is obvious to every reflecting mind; it is only necessary to push the thought a few steps further to perceive that the humiliation of Austria, not merely in the Imperial Family, but throughout every class, raised above the mere drudges of the soil, must have been of the most mortifying and galling nature.

Dillon in his *Survey* of the Sacred Roman Empire, states that riches or even titles of nobility occasioned less concern than the care that was required to preserve TRUE GERMAN BLOOD, by avoiding low marriages; as an inducement to avoid false alliances, all the ecclesiastical chapters of the Empire are exclusively opened to those distinguished Families who have remained uncon-

* At least of those who could take delight in it, for there were several who could not.

taminated by a low mixture for four complete generations, and to guard against false pretensions the descent of each candidate for admission is examined with the strictest scrutiny; proofs of sixteen quarterings must establish the purity of alliance on both the Father's and Mother's side of the Candidate, and the least flaw in an escutcheon destroys all his hopes. The mode of drawing out a descent is as follows:


PATERNAL SIDE.
MATERNAL SIDE.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
g. g. g. g.
g. f. g. m.
g. g. g. g.
g. f. g. m.
g. gr. f.
g. g. m.
g. gr. f.
g. g. m.
grandfath.
grandmoth.
grandfath.
grandmoth.
father of candidate.
mother of candidate.
CANDIDATE.

Buonaparté's project of raising an universal Empire, or as it was called in the affected style of the court of St. Cloud, "the Empire of Charlemagne," now assumed an air of feasibility, that became terrific in proportion as it was investigated. It no longer wore the appearance of an abortive speculation dependent upon mere military power; for if the marriage were to be fruitful, the dynasty of Napoleon, already holding Spain and Italy by military possession, could easily revive whenever a suitable occasion might occur, any dormant claim that the House of Austria might pretend to have to those states, and as a branch of that House, insist upon uniting them all with the rest of Europe under one crown, as the only mode of fulfilling the design of the great founder of the empire. It was perceived that the issue of Maria Louisa occupying the throne of Pepin, and exercising an authority over the territories which formed the main strength of the ancient Roman Empire, would be able to prove as good a descent from Charlemagne, as the family at Vienna, and that in default of male issue there, at any time, the descendants of *Louisa* had only to follow the example of their ancestor *Teresa*, by enforcing, sword in hand, a claim which might not be peaceably acknowledged. The records of the House of Austria had become the inheritance of the Buonapartean dynasty, and the best genealogy that could be traced stood as follows:

SUCCESSION *of* EMPERORS, *from* CHARLEMAGNE *down to his present* IMPERIAL MAJESTY, FRANCIS II, FATHER *of* MARIA LOUISA.

CHARLEMAGNE.

Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, King of France, the son and successor of King Pepin, was the founder of the Western or German Empire, being advanced to the imperial throne in 800, on

Christmas-day, after an interregnum of 300 years, and was solemnly crowned by the Pope, in St. Peter's church at Rome. He afterwards retired to Germany, and died in 814 at Aix, and was buried in a chapel founded by himself, on which account the city has always been called by the French, *Aix la Chapelle.*

LEWIS I.

This prince was son, and successor to Charlemagne, in the Empire; he ordered the Bible to be translated into the Saxon language: his three sons rebelled against him; and shut him up in a monastery; but he was rescued by his subjects. He died in 840.

LOTHARIUS.

Succeeded his father, Lewis I. against whom he had taken up arms, and been in open rebellion. After a fifteen years reign he abdicated the throne, and retired to a monastery, where he died in 853.

LEWIS II.

Succeeded his father Lotharius, and died in 875.

CHARLES the BALD

Died in 877, from which event there was an interregnum till the year 881.

CHARLES the GROSS,

So denominated for his corpulency. His conduct and actions were so unpopular and displeasing to the people, that they deposed him in the year 887, and placed Arnulph, natural son of the Duke of Bavaria, on the imperial throne; by which means the race of Charlemagne ceased in Germany, and the people asserted their rights of election, and gave the preference to a prince of their own country.

ARNULPH of BAVARIA.

The successors of Charlemagne continued to reign in their dominions in France, but lost all their sway and influence in the German Empire, after the deposition of Charles the Gross, who was succeeded by Arnulph, who defeated his opponents, Guido and Berengarius, and took Rome by storm. He died in 899.

LEWIS IV. called the CHILD,

Son and successor to his father Arnulph; was also stiled King of Germany. He died in 911.

CONRAD I.

King of Germany and Emperor, died in 919.

HENRY I. the FOWLER;

So called from his great delight in fowling, and other country sports; died in 937.

OTHO the GREAT.

Otho I. stiled the Great, son to Henry the Fowler, died in 973.

OTHO II.

Died in 983.

OTHO III.

Died in 1002.

HENRY II. or the SAINT,

Died in 1024, leaving his wife a virgin, who being accused of adultery, she is said, in proof of her innocence, to have undergone the trial of ordeal, by walking over hot bars of iron.

CONRAD II. or the SALIQUE,

Died in 1039.

HENRY III. the BLACK,

Died in 1056.

HENRY IV.

Died in 1106.

HENRY V.

Died in 1125.

LOTHARIUS II.

Died in 1137.

CONRAD III.

Died in 1150.

FREDERIC BARBAROSSA,

So called from his red beard, died in 1190.

HENRY VI.

Son of Frederic Barbarossa, died in 1197.

PHILIP.

Died in 1208.

OTHO IV.

Deposed in 1212.

FREDERIC II.

Died in 1250.

This Emperor was often excommunicated by the Popes, and Germany was involved in intestine broils and factions, under the denomination of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines;* in one or other of which most of the princes of Europe took a part, forming a kind of *high church* and *low church;* the first adhering to the authority of the Popes, and the second supporting the free power of the Emperors; but, fortunately for Europe, the tempers of men

cooled, and the Germans were too wise to perpetuate to every generation, unmeaning words and odious distinctions, which seem to keep the spirit of faction alive, and stimulate each party with warmth and animosity, tending, in times of war, to weaken internal strength, and give vigour to the designs of the enemy.—On Easter Sunday, 1229, Frederic made a solemn entry into Jerusalem, and was proclaimed king thereof. He died in 1250. He made his natural son Encius King of Sardinia, but he was taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and died in prison at Bologna. The Kings of Sardinia still take the title of Kings of Jerusalem.

CONRAD IV.

Son of Frederic, died in 1254.

WILLIAM of HOLLAND.

Died in 1256.

RICHARD, DUKE of CORNWALL,

Brother to Henry III. King of England.

An interregnum from 1271 till 1273.

RUDOLPH of HAPSBURG.

This great Emperor was the founder of the illustrious house of Austria, which has since increased to so high a pitch of dignity, power, and dominion; these princes having acquired many territories by conquest and fortunate alliances. Rudolph was chosen Emperor by the unanimous consent of all the electors: he created his son Albert Archduke of Austria.

Nothing can exceed the fulsome flattery offered by Spanish writers to the descendants of the house of Austria, who reigned in Spain after the Emperor Charles V. even Gracian, one of their most refined wits and profound scholars, made no scruple in addressing himself to that feeble prince, Philip

IV. to tell him "That the house of Austria was elevated by God, in order thereby to exalt his church, putting an end to those cruel animosities and dissentions between the Emperor Frederic and the pontiffs, and effecting peace and tranquillity under the Emperor Rudolph. A house, which since it has begun to reign, the church was free from schisms; a house, which brought the pontiffs back from Avignon to Rome, and supports their authority; a house, erected by God, as a bulwark of Christianity against the Ottoman power, as well as against heretics in Bohemia, Hungary, Germany, Flanders, and even France; a house, which God formed to produce a great number of Saints, Emperors, Empresses, Kings, and Queens, and Archdukes; a house, designed by God, to spread over the world the light of his holy gospel; a house in fine, chosen by God in the law of grace, like that of Abraham, in the written law, that he might be called the God of Austria, the God of Rudolph, of Philip, and of Ferdinand!" Such was the extravagant incense offered to the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, in 1557.

The Spaniards are greatly cooled in their praises, since the extinction of the Austrian line in their country. Father Feijoo, a celebrated modern critic, asserts with much confidence, that no origin is more doubtful, than that of the house of Austria, two generations higher than Rudolph of Hapsburg, and that in ascertaining his grandfather, the most acute genealogists find themselves so perplexed and embarrassed to discover a progenitor, that even his grandfather is not clearly made out. The ancient Castle of Hapsburg, is situated in the Canton of Berne, near the Lake of Lucerne in Switzerland.

ADOLPH of NASSAU,

Deposed. Died in 1290.

ALBERT I. of AUSTRIA,

Son to the Emperor Rudolph; died in 1308.

In this reign the Christians lost what they had left of their conquests in the Holy Land; the Crusades ended, and none but pilgrims passed, henceforward, into these countries. The order of the Knight's Templars was abolished throughout all Christendom, and 57 of them were burnt alive with a slow fire at Paris!

HENRY of LUXEMBOURG,

Died in 1313, being poisoned by a monk in receiving the sacrament.

LEWIS V. of BAVARIA,

Deposed in 1346, and died in 1347.

CHARLES IV. of LUXEMBOURG,

Instituted the GOLDEN BULL; died in 1378.

WENCESLAUS of LUXEMBOURG,

Deposed in 1400.

SIGISMUND of LUXEMBOURG,

Installed a knight of the garter in the reign of Henry V. Died in 1437

ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA,

whose descendents preserved the imperial diadem in their line for three centuries, till their extinction at the demise of the Emperor Charles VI. Albert died in 1439: he was installed a knight of the garter in the reign of Henry VI.

FREDERIC III.

Died in 1491; was also a knight of the garter.

MAXIMILIAN I.

Son and successor to the Emperor Frederic III. was elected King of the Romans in 1489. He mar-

ried Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, by which all the possessions of that house fell to his descendants; he was installed a knight of the garter in the reign of Henry VII. he died in 1518.

CHARLES V.

Grandson of Maximilian, being the son of Philip the Bel, Duke of Burgundy, and Jane heiress of Castile, who conveyed all the Spanish dominions in Europe and in America to her children, and aggrandised still further the flourishing house of Austria. Charles V. was elected Emperor in 1519. He spent six weeks in England in 1552, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, that united him with Henry VIII. who presented him with the order of the garter. This great Emperor before his death resigned the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, having in vain endeavoured to persuade him to yield that claim to his son Philip II. to whom Charles resigned his dominions in *Spain, Italy, and the Indies*, and retired to the convent of Juste, in Estremadura, where he died on the 21st of September, 1558.

FERDINAND I.

Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. was born in Spain in 1503, and on the resignation of Charles was elected Emperor, on which occasion the house of Austria became divided into two branches; the elder branch descended from Charles succeeding to the Crown of Spain, with all its dominions in Italy, Flanders and the East and West Indies, and the other sprung from Ferdinand, inheriting the dominions of that house in Germany, which enabled them to secure the election to the imperial throne in their own family, without interruption. The Emperor Ferdinand, before he came to the imperial throne, was King of Hungary and Bohemia,

in right of his wife, and in the reign af our Henry VIII. had been installed a knight of the garter at Windsor.

MAXIMILIAN II.

Successor to his father Ferdinand in his dominions, as well as in the Empire: married his cousin Mary, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. Queen Elizabeth presented him with the order of the garter. Died in 1570.

RUDOLPH II.

Son and successor to Maximilian: Queen Elizabeth also presented him with the order of the garter, and he was the last Emperor who has been installed in that ancient and illustrious order. He died unmarried, at Prague, in 1612.

MATHIAS I.

Was chosen Emperor after the death of his brother Rudolph. Instead of following the tolerating principles of his ancestors, the Emperors Maximilian and Ferdinand, he persecuted the protestants, which occasioned insurrections in Bohemia, and made his reign unhappy. He died in 1619.

FERDINAND II.

This prince was second son to the Emperor Ferdinand I. Archduke of Austria; the Bohemians, disgusted with the severity of the late Emperor, proceeded to elect Frederic V. Count Palatin, son-in-law to King James I. for their king, which brought on a civil war in the Empire, that lasted thirty years. Ferdinand II. died in 1637.

FERDINAND III.

This prince continued the war against the protestants, obtained a victory over them at Ratisbon, and defeated the Swedes, their allies; but the fortune of war changing sides, he consented to the

treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, whereby the protestant faith was established on a more firm basis. Ferdinand died in 1657, and was succeeded by his son Leopold.

LEOPOLD.

This Emperor had long and bloody wars with the Turks. In 1697 a terrible battle was fought near Zeuta in Hungary, where Prince Eugene of Savoy obtained a complete victory for the Imperialists, the grand vizir being slain with 30,000 men, and their camp plundered, with an immense quantity of ammunition and provisions. The same year the peace of Ryswick was concluded, and the following, a truce of twenty-five years between the Imperialists and Turks, by the mediation of Great Britain and Holland. The Emperor Leopold died on the 5th of May, 1705.

JOSEPH I.

The reign of this Emperor was short: he died of the small-pox on the 14th of April 1711, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, then in Spain contending for that crown.

CHARLES VI.

Charles hearing of the death of his elder brother, the Emperor Joseph, lost no time in repairing to Germany, and arriving at Frankfort, was proclaimed Emperor on the 12th of October 1711, relinquishing all hopes of the kingdom of Spain, to which his father and brother had resigned their pretensions, on the demise of Charles II. the last Austrian monarch in that kingdom. He had been proclaimed King of Spain, where with the assistance of Great Britain, he made a rapid progress, but his succeeding to the Empire seemed to make him too powerful, and his allies were not willing to support him in further aggrandisement; so that Philip Duke of Anjou, got possession of the crown

of Spain. The Emperor Charles VI. was the last male heir of the Austrian line. This prince employed the latter part of his life in promoting the commerce of his subjects, as well in Flanders as in Austria, by endeavouring to establish a maritime commerce, which greatly alarmed the Dutch, who had weight enough at that time to defeat his patriotic measures. The Emperor also secured the succession of his dominions to his eldest, and afterwards the only daughter, the Archduchess Maria Terea, consort to Francis, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany, at the death of Gaston the last Duke of the house of Medicis. The Emperor Charles VI. departed this life on the 20th of October 1740.

CHARLES VII.

On the demise of Charles VI. his daughter Maria Teresa beheld her dominions invaded on all sides. The King of Prussia seized upon Silesia; on she other hand, the Elector of Bavaria, with the French, marched into Austria, and took possession of Lintz, and from thence entered Bohemia; while the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, also joined them; and to render the situation of Maria Teresa more distressing, the Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor at Frankfort, and crowned the 13th of February 1742; but nothing was able to daunt the mind of the intrepid Maria Teresa, she flew to her faithful Hungarians, who supported her with the utmost valour against her numerous enemies; a conduct that will ever reflect the highest honour on that brave and warlike nation. The new Emperor was the first to feel the effects of their prowess. The Austrian army entered Bavaria, became victors in their turn, and took possession of Munic, the capital of that dutchy, and over-run the whole country; by which means, with the powerful assistance of the court of Great

Britain, the queen's affairs soon began to wear a more pleasing aspect. The new Emperor saw himself the dupe of his friends, his electoral dominions ravaged by his enemies, and no power or revenue to support the imperial dignity, which is said to have affected him so feelingly, that he died of a broken heart on the 5th of January 1745.

FRANCIS of LORRAINE.

The unfortunate end of the Emperor, chosen out of the house of Bavaria, was a striking example of the little advantage arising to a feeble prince, from the imperial dignity, when he owes his crown to the designs of an artful ally, who makes use of him for his own purpose, and that he has not power to support himself. Such was the fate of Charles VII. To succeed to him the electors could not pitch upon a more proper prince than the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who from himself, having no immediate views or interest to disturb the peace of the Empire, was besides a most elegible prince, as consort to the heiress of all the dominions of the house of Austria. By his benevolent and pacific disposition, he verified the justness of this measure; which, of course, facilitated the election of King of the Romans for his eldest son. He died suddenly, the 18th of August 1765, and his august consort, the late Empress Queen of Hungary, and Bohemia, &c. on the 29th of November 1780, leaving a numerous issue.

JOSEPH II.

Succeeded the Empress Queen, his mother, as King of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. with all the dominions of the house of Austria, in Germany, Italy, and Flanders. His imperial majesty made great alterations for the advantage of his subjects, to whose prosperity he attended with the most unremitting assiduity. His universal toleration, and singular protection of the protestants, his aboli-

tion of useless convents of both sexes, his extensive views of commerce, his attention to the political interests of his states, and his indulgence to the Jews, all bespeak greatness of mind, and unparallelled magnanimity. If to these bright examples we were to add a copious eulogy on his personal virtues, moderation, temperance, frugality, contempt of pomp, consummate knowledge of affairs; and to say that beside all these amiable qualities, he was affable in conversation, with great gentleness of manners, and easy address, we should draw but a faint likeness of this excellent prince.—Died 1790.

PETER LEOPOLD,

Succeeded his brother, the Emperor Joseph, died 1792.

FRANCIS II.

Son of Leopold, was crowned 1792. Married Maria Teresa daughter of Ferdinand IV. King of Naples; of whom Maria Louisa, Empress of France, was born in 1791.

CHAPTER XXVI.

An Essay on CIVILIZATION, *which proves that Buonaparté has evinced no more Knowledge of the Principles of Happiness, than the Sovereigns and Legislators who have preceded him.*

IT is impossible to peruse this genealogical register, imperfect as it is, without being overpowered with admiration of the wonderful talents that had contrived to lay the foundations of a dynasty so fortified and strengthened: yet, when it made its appearance, although the friend of the human species would gladly have consoled himself for the ages of wretchedness that he had reviewed, and would eagerly have embraced a hope that this might lead to some permanency in human affairs not hitherto enjoyed, he found it difficult to divest himself of a few analogical circumstances in the foundation of the two Empires, which precluded him from discovering any better prospect for mankind than that of continuing to be the sport of sordid neglect and personal ambition.

A thousand years had elapsed from the commencement of the Empire of Charlemagne in 800, until Buonaparté had consolidated his government in 1800. The whole period had been a continued season of violence, contention, and treachery, in which all sovereigns and states, weak or powerful, had only ceased from conspiring against each other, in order to carry calamities still more afflicting than even the ravages of war, into the domestic concerns and private habits of their fellow men. Was it reasonable to suppose that the new Candidate for universal rule had undergone a regeneration, which had supplied him with principles dif-

fering essentially in their effects from those of his predecessors. His entire career afforded an answer in the negative, and reflection was obliged to retire within itself, to enquire into the causes of perpetual misery, rather than indulge in the contemplation of social happiness

After taking a retrospect of a Millenary thus closed by defeating an attempt to ameliorate the condition of man, so terribly grand as the revolution of France, the mind feels itself forbidden to dwell upon the mistakes of individuals, or even of particular nations, by having discovered the fundamental errors of the whole species, which necessarily influence individual conduct. Whoever has traced the affairs of mankind up to the earliest records of history, has found, that instead of any fixed principles having been ascertained for society, confusion and disorder have been the constant lot of man; and that if the later race adopted contention and rapine as the rule of their practice, it was because no examples but those of outrage and violence had been set before them: whether it be said that they have all *gone out* of the right way, or that they *never were in it* is not very material, it is certain, that during the whole period of known history men have never thought right upon any subject, but what was capable of mathematical demonstration, and as the principles of morals and politics do not admit of being brought to such a test, their never having judged right may be taken as sufficient evidence of their never having acted right.

To say, however, that all the institutions of man have originated in ignorance, would be merely to hazard a trite assertion, which from its generality fails to be of any practical utility; it is therefore necessary to analyse the position, in order to shew that notwithstanding the progress of knowledge, we are still ignorant of the principles upon which

the peace of society and the happiness of life depend. We shall be better understood when we say, that down to the present hour, legislators have presumed to controul the affairs of man, without understanding either the circumstances that surround them, or the end they are leading them to; consequently that all law has hitherto been at variance with nature, and life continues to be a burthen instead of a blessing.

The end to which all legislators have proposed to lead their respective nations is *civilization*, yet strange as it may seem, no body of legislators whatever, has attempted to define what civilization means. There has, therefore, been no standard by which it could be determined, whether their public acts or individual conduct promoted or impeded their object; nor any rule by which it could be ascertained, whether they were nearer to it at one period than another. Indeed they have been content to remain so perfectly ignorant upon this subject, that they have never ventured to push their inquiries beyond the silly and unintelligible speculation, expressed in the foppish jargon of the schools, whether this or that were the Augustan age of such or such a nation; but as to what they meant by the Augustan age, that they have seldom taken the trouble to enquire; and if it were to be examined, it would appear to mean nothing more than the period when the knaves who governed Rome, had contrived to appropriate all the resources of the world to the use of their own city, and to express themselves in their mother tongue with grammatical precision and clearness. It was the natural consequence of this ignorance and levity in legislators, that they have gone on from generation to generation, manufacturing anarchy instead of government; and it was also to be expected, that according to the unnatural systems by which they have ruled, the majority of all countries should continue in a state of demi-barbarism.

No person will find any difficulty in assenting to this conclusion, who will take the trouble to understand the respective terms.

The simple definition of CIVILIZATION might suffice, but in order to avoid any doubt upon a point of such importance, its respective limits ought to be clearly understood, and therefore it is necessary also to define BARBARISM, the state of the mind when its influence commences, and civil-perfection, or BEING CIVILIZED, the end it ought to have in view.

BARBARISM is the state in which a people are, when ignorant of the whole series of facts that involve the happiness of the human species.

CIVILIZATION is the process that society undergoes, in passing through the millions of intermediate states that obtain between Barbarism, and its comprehending the science of happiness. That process advances in proportion to the acquisition of knowledge, and may be extended to all the individuals of society, by means of what is called learning. In considering the effects of learning, however, it is necessary to distinguish society from the individuals who compose it. Learning is divided into two species, that which merely occupies the attention of people, and that which civilizes them. Society at large may have made very great progress in knowledge and have all the proper arrangements for its diffusion, and yet, individuals may remain very ignorant, because they may regard learning as the end instead of the means; or society may have advanced in knowledge, and not have adopted means for its diffusion, in which case the society may make a rapid progress in civilization, whilst many of its individual members may have scarcely quitted the state of barbarism. When learning is considered as any thing more than the mere medium of knowledge, or when the diffusion of knowledge is too limited to promote the scheme of universal happiness, society has failed in its

object, and must be regarded as in a state of demi-barbarism.

BEING CIVILIZED is being acquainted with the causes of things, so as by the knowledge of physical effects and moral powers, to be enabled to bring all the propensities of mankind into co-operation with all the tendencies of the material world, that their mutual action and re-action may produce the final result of all the exertions of universal nature—*the equal happiness of every associated being.*

Hence it is evident that mankind only advance in civilization in proportion as they become acquainted with the circumstances which controul them, and this observation, with certain limitations, applies to them as individuals as well as in their civil and political relations. Now there are two circumstances constantly operating upon them—constantly altering their destiny and changing their fate—which no legislature has ever contemplated—for which no legislative provision has ever been made—against which *individuals* can provide no remedy—and to which, *as such*, they can oppose no resistance.

The circumstances alluded to are the inevitable and constant tendency of population, *to increase beyond the power of any given spot* to *provide them with comfortable subsistance*, and the *tendency of every improvement* in society, to cause the *necessary labour* of the community *to be done by a smaller number of hands.* These two operations of nature are uniformly and regularly defeating all the contrivances and efforts of individuals to keep on advancing towards the centre of happiness, in the circle of moral rectitude. Every individual of the species, insignificant or powerful, is constantly thrown out of his orbit, whatever struggle he may make, and nothing but political institutions, framed with those circumstances in view, can correct the eccentricities and disorders occasioned by these natural and moral concussions.

In consequence of governments having omitted to consider these two influential principles of nature, they have exerted themselves to increase the breed of human beings, or to augment the number of people in their states, rather than to provide comfort and civilization for those they already rule. Thus, whilst the principle of population has gone on to increase the number of claimants on the productions of the community, the principle of improvement, by diminishing the proportion of indispensible labour in demand, has increased the numbers of those who were reduced to misery or dependence, *owing to their having no equivalent to exchange for such productions but their strength and talents.* Hence, the majority of all countries has been reduced, by the negligence of their governments, to poverty and wretchedness; and a large portion has been driven to choose between perishing by pain and misery, or becoming robbers to lengthen the period of life. By means of executions, starvations, and expatriations, governments contrive to get rid of the full grown, nearly as fast as they breed young ones; but, when the numbers grow upon their hands, so as that robberies and discontents are ready to ripen into resistance, then they contrive to transport the danger, by changing brigands into soldiers, and instead of acting at the head of civil robbers, who live by plundering each other, they become political robbers, and seize the produce of their neighbours.

When governments agree to enter into the state which they call peace, it is not because either of the belligerents has obtained the object for which he avowedly went to war; but, because the evils above alluded to have ceased to press so hard. It is not however presumed to say that the excess of their numbers has been "killed off" by war, for though the slaughters are immense, and although the numbers destroyed by ravage and disease on the respective fields of action are even greater than

those killed in battle, yet the births in the interim generally more than supply their place: but war calls forth a degree of energy from governments which they never exert for virtuous purposes, and therefore the condition of the people becomes comparatively bettered, even in the states which have the worst of the contest. The season of peace is followed by a new era of privation and wretchedness, for governments never care about those who are discarded and unprovided for by the new order of things. They go on propagating and accumulating in misery, until becoming too numerous to be executed or imprisoned, their leaders again find it necessary to furnish them with uniforms, and to equip them for the spoliation of their neighbours.

Two notable circumstances in modern history, serve to shew that no nation can remain at peace for any length of time, according to the present imperfect view that mankind have of social life. One relates to the states of Holland, who, under an unusually wise and moderate government, had been kept at peace the greatest part of the last century; during this interval, the population increased to an extent that would scarcely admit of a new house being added throughout the provinces, notwithstanding they had exported vast numbers to their different plantations, and that those plantations, particularly Batavia and Surinam, were so unhealthy as greatly to shorten life and to require constant recruiting. The government, pending this interval, had been divested of many of the vicious principles which had cursed all other nations, and therefore greater attention had been bestowed on finding employment and good wages for the mass, than to contrive improvements which should accumulate large capitals, and gratify the cupidity of the rich. The consequence was, that the taste for war had subsided, and the states could not recruit, amongst their own people, a sufficient

number to supply their garrisons, but were obliged to be content with regiments formed of from twelve to twenty different countries. The domestic habits of the Dutch and their love of ease, secured them against a disposition to inroad upon their neighbours; but the spirit of discontent was just beginning to rise against their own government, at the moment when the wretched and discontented of over populated France bid defiance to the Bourbon system, and overthrowing all bounds, broke out like a horde of hungary wolves, as the Persians, the Tartars, the Greeks, the Romans, the Scythians, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Gauls did, before the bishops and the monks contrived to take the surplus population under their care, and to dispatch them to the next world in a cowl or a spiritual bonfire. Holland would have been many years before it would have attacked any neighbour, but in the interim France—desperate France, attacked her and devoured her up with as much ease as a tiger would have swallowed a kitten. She was robbed of every thing, and at last supplied her youth in the same proportion as every other marauding tribe, to aid Buonaparté's vagaries in search of fortune.

The other instance is in the case of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when being tired out, as it were, of civil wars and religious wars, and foreign wars, the country was *technically* in a state of peace. Here the population increased so much faster than the British Constitution would provide for it, that the government could hardly be active enough in contriving means to vex the people and harrass their lives out. They whipped them, imprisoned them, and hanged them, for attempting to live according to the best means they had been taught; and "yet never was the unrelenting vengeance of government more ineffectual." Sir Morton Eden mentions a Somersetshire magistrate, who stated that they had execut-

ed forty in one year, in his county; that they had whipped thirty-seven, and tortured thirty-five by burning them in the hand: he adds, that the other counties were no better, and many of them were even worse.

Such was the barbarous government to which the English were subject in the days of Shakespere; and yet that very government has received credit for having taken a wonderful stride in civilization, by devising a scheme to lock up a great portion of the people in workhouses, and to keep a still greater number dependent upon charity. How much wiser they are in England now than they were in the days of Shakespere, would be a question worthy of the enquirers after the Augustan age to enter upon; but if the number of workhouses, madhouses, and prisons, affords any rule whereby to judge of the civilization of a country, then England is as incapable of procuring happiness for her people—as incapable of maintaining them in peace, now, as she was in the days of Elizabeth.

If then, this be the case with England, at a moment when she claims the merit of having the wisest government in the world, and when all the world seem willing to yield the palm to her in that respect; however, much we may regret the errors that the French philosophers fell into in attempting their revolution, all who have rectitude enough to desire the happiness of mankind, must wish to see one general revolution throughout the world.

From what has been written, it will have appeared, that the revolution demanded by the nature and circumstances of man, is, that they should be governed at all times by institutions formed in the light of his age, under the guidance of philosophy and experience, instead of such as have had their foundation laid in antiquity and ignorance. This revolution would be nothing more than teaching governments that the true science of politics

consists, not in procuring large numbers to be governed, but, in taking care to provide, as nearly as the nature of things will admit, an equal portion of education, polish, and comfort, for all those whom they have to rule over; in order that the people of their respective states, being at peace amongst themselves, may feel no disposition to disturb the tranquillity of neighbouring states.

Domestic tranquillity would be the only rational guarantee for treaties of peace: but this can never prevail until society understand the two catagorical principles of nature, specified in page 452; for whilst it continues to believe, what the experience of every hour contradicts—"that mouths are never sent until meat is provided for them," it will charge crimes upon individuals which are consequential upon its own mistakes, and suffer the most virtuous and unoffending conduct to bear the whole weight of misfortunes, which ought to be divided amongst the community. Truth, in this case, is regarded as an enemy, for whenever it appears, it appears loaded with reproaches, and the place of good government is supplied by the clumsy artifice of inflicting punishments, wherever the effects of bad government make their appearance. If society would inform itself in regard to the facts upon the virtue and happiness of which its members depend, it would learn that morality can neither be whipped into them, nor preached into them, but must be produced in their habits and conduct, by the influence of social arrangements made to put the laws of nature in operation in the lives and actions of every being, between whose wants and the tendencies of nature there is a sympathetic correspondence. The complicated machinery of government would thus be nearly reduced to the simple functions of enquiring into the phenomena of nature, and disclosing them to its constituents for their use, as a parent

communicates to his children the facts he has previously learned.

Should society ever take courage to act in the spirit of wisdom, the first of its inquiries will be, What number of mouths it has to feed? and then, What is the amount of its resources? These questions would never lose their interest, but they would assume the new form of, What is the utmost amount that those resources can attain? And what is the largest number of people that they can be made to support?

In arriving at the answers to these inquiries, there are two auxiliary considerations that could not be evaded: as first, What is meant by the resources of a state? and secondly, What is the kind of support to which the claimants upon the national wealth is entitled. Under the first head of inquiry it would appear that all our present notions of wealth are as false as error can be; for that a principal division of wealth remains uncatalogued and uncounted in the inventory of national treasures, namely, the muscular power and genius of the people, which are left like the wandering streams of the brook to waste their feeble efforts and dissipate themselves, ungathered and unheeded, into airy nothingness. It would be found, that to value the dirt and the cattle that crawl upon it, without reckoning the faculties which are capable of multiplying their powers and uses, perhaps a hundred fold, would be to draw a false estimate. The strength and talents of man would thus be acknowledged to be property, as clearly as the soil they were employed upon; and if property, as well entitled to the protection of the law, as the soil or its produce; if a valuable property, as well deserving of improvement, by instruction and care, as the soil is by its culture.

Considerable advances have already been made in the inquiry, What is wealth? and Lord Lauder-

dale has furnished a definition, which, if its consequences were duly appreciated, would lead to the desired revolution. Wealth is defined by his Lordship to be *the sum total of the objects of man's desire;* but the mere tangible substance which can be transferred by weight or by tale, constitutes a very small part of the objects of man's desire. It is not the substantial matter, but the visible form which it has received from the impalpable genius of man that affords us gratification. The matter and the form are equally objects of desire, and if the material can be purchased without the genius, in the shape of a block of gold, so can the genius without the material, in the shape of a dramatic representation. Now what constitutes the value of wealth of any species is its power of procuring enjoyments; when therefore, laws have been made to secure the property of men, the spirit of those laws is the security of the enjoyments that it represents. A sense of justice would consider a man's sinews and brains as his estate—valuable and improvcable, and as fully entitled to have its price kept up as the land and the corn. It cannot be surprising that we characterize this state of things, as a revolution. It would in fact, be as different from anything that has existed or does exist, as the state of heaven is supposed to be from the state of the damned; but whenever it be adopted as the moral of man, the beings who then live, will discover that to be the first moment when the philosophy of civilization and social life is comprehended: for, as wealth is nothing more than the type of enjoyments, the silly people who have hitherto legislated for mankind, by devoting their time to the accumulation of wealth, instead of the increase of enjoyments, have busied themselves in grasping at the shadow, whilst they have overlooked the substance, which was within their reach.

It must not be urged in disparagement of this

philosophy, that it would effect its purpose, by depriving one portion of society of its just rights to increase the enjoyment of the other. The misappropriated arguments of this barbarous age, in favour of the existing practice, refute the insinuation and afford the best support of this theory. It is said, that the surest way to increase the quantity of the productions of the land, is to raise its value; now it is precisely because the productions of labour should be increased by bringing the whole stock of strength and talents of society into activity, that the value of labour ought to be raised; and as it is acknowledged by all, that the principal part of the price of every production is the portion that has been paid for the labour employed upon it; the most selfish ought to see that the surest way to increase productions, that is the sum total of enjoyments, is to raise the value of labour. The specific difference then between the philosophy of civilization and the state of society, which has hitherto prevailed, is that the one aims at increasing the wealth of particular individuals without providing enjoyments for the whole, whilst the other tends to increase the enjoyments of the whole without diminishing the value of the wealth of individuals.

Now as the spirit of candour would discover the wealth of the nation to consist in the abundance of the objects of man's desire, and its principal resource to be in the power and genius capable of their modification and increase, it would in the same *coup d'œil* determine what is the share to which each claimant upon the national wealth is entitled. It would not however be guided in its decision by any of the quibbling disputes that have hitherto divided mankind, either for or against the rights of man; but as it would perceive, that without a given quantity of enjoyment man is incapable of making any return to the general stock; and that without the degree of culture, necessary

to imbue him with the spirit of his times, what he does he does like a barbarian of the darkest ages, it would examine the practice of leaving the machinery, upon which the fabrication of enjoyments depend, to rust in idleness and neglect: it would judge according to the reason of the thing, and find the true policy to consist in preserving the activity and usefulness of man, by constant improvement and care.

Without saying one word about the right then, it is the policy of every state to make all its members partakers of the improvements of their age. If we do not like what was done in the last age, let us put those who are to minister to our pleasures in a condition to understand the thing, as well as ourselves; and if we prefer agreeable objects, to those which are otherwise, let us promote the polish and refinement, which will add to our own pleasures.

It need hardly be observed, that before any thing like civilization and perfection can prevail amongst mankind, some principle must be discovered, by which the spirit of commercial jealousies and monopolies may be destroyed. Now the principle of rendering the wages of labour equal to the enjoyment of the comforts of the age, is that principle, because it would procure a customer on the spot, which the existing mode makes it necessary to search for in distant countries. All the intricate questions that have puzzled legislators and economists for ages past, would then sink amongst the witchcraft and magic; for the demand and supply would thenceforth regulate each other, as all sorts of comforts would be produced and consumed nearly upon the same spot.

Beside the immediate effects of rendering the wages of labour equal to the comforts of life, it would ultimately produce the moral consequence of placing society in a state to maintain peace;

by conforming mankind to the circumstances under which nature has placed them ; for if people received the education, polish, and taste to relish the enjoyments of life, many of the motives to over populate would cease. The love of pleasure and the desire of preserving a decent rank, would be chosen in preference to bringing up swarms of miserable children, which nature does not provide for : legislative wisdom would soon arrive at its acme, by contriving that the exertions of each individual should be adequate to the provision for his whole life time, and that its entire value should be consumed by him within that period.

After the virulent prejudices that we have witnessed of late years, it is hardly possible to hope that the present race will acknowledge even the possibility of balancing the comforts of man with their wants, or of adjusting their duties by their convenience; yet it would be indulging an unwarrantable degree of despair, to suppose that the rising generation will be influenced by bigotry, in the same degree as their fathers have been. The writings of the encyclopedique philosophers, and the principles of the revolution, will be examined without the possibility of their being countermined by personal prejudices raised against their authors. The mind will at length detect the fallacy which attempts to persuade it, that its happiness is increased by having the spectacle of misery constantly exhibited before it, and the discovery of this delusion will unravel the whole series of moral mistakes employed in the fabrication of artificial antipathies, and in blunting the social feelings of man. The fraternal spirit requires nothing more than the gentle incubation of truth to quicken it into unbroken sympathy and the liveliest affection. Now the moment mankind ceased to view each other through the trafficing jealousies of our system, they would behold in every man a companion working with them to a common end ; and by sim-

ple affinity of mind they would perceive that much more may be made of man by governing him with regulated kindness and indulgence, than their ancestors have made of him by attempting to govern him through vexation and capricious restraints. The means of civilization and the perfection of man would instantly present themselves—it would be seen that nature goes on in its own course, let legislators decree what they may about it, and whether men chuse to understand its operations or not; but that the destinies of men may be changed through all the degrees of variation, from wretchedness in the extreme, to the highest comprehensible point of happiness, according as the WISDOM or FOLLY of their fathers predominates in producing circumstances to influence their affairs. It would become evident, that although no age could resist the events prepared for it by its predecessor—that although no individual could will the march of his own fortune, yet that every age can controul its posterity, by whatever events it pleases to create; and that every man, according to the influence which society gives him, is the author of the *good* or *ill* fortune of his children. Every individual would be ashamed of trusting to chance, when he saw that the power were really his own: paternal affection would stimulate anxiety, whilst a sense of honour would forbid trusting the conscience in this case to any guidance but inquisitive reason, and the interchange of thought would trace the outline of social duty, somewhat in the form of the succeeding dialogue:

Question.—What is the business of man?

Answer.—To improve life, and to enjoy it.

Question.—What is meant by improving life?

Answer.—It means increasing and perfecting all the objects of our pleasures, our desires, and our tastes; as well as defining and regulating all our duties.

Question.—Is man capable of accomplishing all this by the application of his own powers?

Answer.—Yes, if he direct his powers to *all* the objects which under the influence of his talents may be brought to perfection.

Question.—What are those objects?

Answer.—They are six in number; they consist, *first*, in rendering the soil we inhabit prolific to the utmost extent of its powers; *secondly*, in supplying each individual mind with the greatest number of known and undisputed facts that it is capable of retaining; *thirdly*, in studying the sources of personal beauty, in order to render the human form itself capable of destroying all artificial chagrin and ill-humour, by the agreeable sensations that it may inspire; *fourthly*, in the refinement of our taste, so that we may be able to comprehend the pleasures that beauty affords, and that we may not, through ignorance, cause deformity of any sort; *fifthly*, in acquiring a uniformity of manners, so that all our motions and actions may be understood by those to whom they may be directed, and all the painful feelings excited by what are called awkwardness and ill-manners may be banished from society,—in other words, that all our minor movements and personal conduct, as well as those acts which are sufficiently obligatory to rank amongst the class of morals, may be conformable to the manners and conduct of those under whose observation they may fall; *sixthly*, in assigning to each individual his equal share of the comforts thus aggregated.

Question.—Is it worthy of a rational being to set his heart on the enjoyment of such a life?

Answer.—Yes, for it is universally admitted that a portion of enjoyment is proper for him, and the quantity can only be determined by his capacity to receive it. Whatever measure man may set up to limit him by, must be arbitrary, as it will

vary with opinions and even with the interpretations of opinions, but the measure of nature is the capacity that she has given to him.

Society having thus scanned, as it were, the boundaries of the moral atmosphere, would behold the limits of all its subsequent enquiries to be within that circle; its relationship to individuals would be ascertained, and its object defined with precision. It would appear as the living tablet on which nature had chosen to write her laws—as the perpetual echo of her voice, and the faithful interpreter of her will:—GO ON UNTO PERFECTION! BE YE CIVILIZED, would be at once its rule and its index to its successors.

Society should be to all the individuals who compose it a sage and hoary parent, fully instructed in all the forms that nature has previously assumed, and constantly ready to interpret any new view in which she may appear. Society being thus always of mature age, whilst the individuals who compose it are of every period of life, its functions comprise one eternal communication of Nature's laws, by degree, and degree, to all its members, to enable them all to attain "the measure of the stature of perfect social beings," according to the amount of truth which she may at any time have developed, in order that the entire family, as their respective ages qualify them, may be brought into conformity to her divine precepts.

The dynasty of Buonaparté was no more likely to lead to the formation of a society, which would acknowledge the sovereignity of Nature, than any of the old dynasties; with him, as with legislators who had preceded him, as far as the purposes of social life were concerned, it was ignorance teaching wisdom, and inexperience giving advice. His personal ambition denied the probability of his consenting to become an expounder or a copyist. Every movement he made proved, that he must maintain his ascendency by im-

posing himself upon his fellow men as a worker of miracles; and however his death might dissolve the delusion, it was evident his reign could only leave behind it traces of tyranny, caprice, and barbarism.

It would be beneath the solemn importance of the subject, to close it by adding any of our puny lamentations, to give poignancy to the feelings which it must suggest; and perhaps it would have the appearance of affectation, were we to express a hope, that when we conclude our Work, in our next Volume, we may be in a condition to announce a brighter prospect.

THE END OF VOL. VIII.

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